

The University of Chicago

SOCIAL WORK WITH TRAVELERS
AND TRANSIENTS

A STUDY OF TRAVELERS AID WORK
IN THE UNITED STATES

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL
SERVICE ADMINISTRATION IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1931

By

GRACE ELEANOR KIMBLE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study of social work with travelers is concerned with the activities of the workers in the organizations that are federated together into the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies;¹ it undertakes to inquire how those activities originated, how they have changed, and the direction in which they seem to be developing.

Reasons for the Study

In recent years there have been many studies of social work as it has developed to give service to special groups or classes such as dependent and delinquent children, broken families, the mentally incompetent or the physically ill. In discussions of the work of the visiting teacher who is primarily interested in the problems of school children, that of the medical social worker who learns of the patient because there is some health problem, or that of the worker in a family welfare agency who is called in because of pecuniary dependence or family disorganization, it has been shown that in fact none of the major social problems is foreign to her. The same family or even the same individual may be dependent, delinquent, ill, and unstable, so that whichever case worker first happens to learn of the situation must give a variety of services herself, transfer the case to a worker better equipped to give the specialized services needed, or work out a co-operative arrangement.

This statement might seem to justify a policy under which there would be one large centralized social agency that would have workers equipped to do the social work necessary, giving generalized service. This in fact is what happens in a small community where there is only one social worker who is truant officer, agent for mothers' pensions, relief officer, and general counsellor for all in trouble. But the social worker in the school, the hospital, the district office, or the institution finds certain advantages

¹While the English organizations go by the name of Travelers' Aid Societies, in America the longer spelling and the apostrophe have been dropped and the organizations incorporated as Travelers Aid Societies.

in being able to specialize to some extent, to work out methods of co-operation with persons outside of social work who are also dealing with her clients, and to build up standards, and she feels that she reaches some in need of help whom none of the other social workers would be likely to meet.

So far little has been written about social service to another group in need of help, the travelers or transients who find themselves in difficulty. The social workers who have given attention to them, working with the railway stations, rather than schools or hospitals, as their centers of operation, have found that they too, as the workers in other specialized agencies, are confronted with every social problem. The runaway child comes often from a broken home where pecuniary dependency complicates the picture. The child traveling alone who might require only arrangements to make sure that his journey could be safely made under the supervision of co-operating railway trainmen, may in fact be a seriously neglected child, conscious of being unwanted and unloved, buffeted about among relatives who lack responsibility. So in a school a child who is overly quiet seems to need only a kind word as a minor service from the visiting teacher, or in the clinic the timid child seems to need only a bit more attention than ordinary steering, but the skilled case worker in either place may discover a major difficulty and the need of intensive case work. So through the railway stations come persons with every ailment of mind and body, persons trying to escape from conditions of life they have found too hard, persons in need of simple advice or of expert case work help.

Medical social workers must fit into a hospital and visiting teachers into a school and in the same way Travelers Aid workers in a station cannot upset the necessary rules and routine, but social workers who have worked for years with doctors and teachers before coming under the same roof with railway men are often surprised to find the latter as socially minded, less educated sometimes according to academic standards but quite as intelligent, and as much in sympathy with simple human beings in trouble, as alert to the need of doing something to help at once, and perhaps more respectful of the social worker who knows what to do. Travelers Aid work cannot be compared to welfare or personnel work in an industrial concern for not only is it concerned with the public rather than with employees who need assistance, but it is independent of railway control and, in its newer aspects, service to travelers and transients who make no use of the railways is increasing in importance.

Many people, even some social workers, know little about Travelers Aid work as a branch of case work but changes in modes

of travel and the increased number of transients because of unemployment are necessitating a new distribution of persons needing help among social agencies and this study therefore seems especially opportune at this time. Organized attempts to aid only the resident unemployed are being accompanied in many places by unwise and demoralizing giving by private individuals to newcomers and those who are only passing through a community. In June, 1931 the President's Emergency Committee on Employment turned to the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies for advice in regard to the care of transients¹ since complaints were being made of the inadequacy of the care in certain localities. This study, which was nearly completed at that time, formed the background for the report to the Committee which was necessarily brief.

Sources of Information

For the background of aid to travelers it was necessary to consult histories of travel, religion, and philanthropy. Annual reports, old case records and papers presented at conferences of the earlier Travelers Aid Societies and of such other organizations as the Young Women's Christian Associations which started station work in some cities showed the development up to the time of the organization of the National Travelers Aid Society which later became the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, as the name indicates a federation of separate agencies rather than one strongly centralized nation-wide agency. Special studies made for the national association, bulletins, reports, and financial, statistical, and administrative records of the national organization and of all the local societies showed the changes in the program from one limited to the protection of young girls to a broad case work service to all types of travelers or transients in need of assistance and showed also that progress in improving standards has been far from uniform. During the course of the study of transient families where unemployment was a problem in July and

¹See G. E. Kimble, "Transient Families in the United States," National Association of Travelers Aid Societies (unpublished). The chief recommendations made to the President's Committee when the original report was presented in September, 1931 were that the federal government itself should provide relief for unemployed transients and that it should provide protection for transient children whether traveling alone or with their parents. The small portion of the report which was printed by the government made no mention of these recommendations but appeared in the form of A Community Plan for Service to Transients.

August, 1931 field visits were made to eleven cities and detailed information secured through assistants in fifty-four other cities while all the records in the national office were opened to the investigator. Earlier in the course of the general study of care of travelers correspondence was conducted with the executives of all of the chartered Travelers Aid Societies and use was made of a questionnaire regarding personnel of the local staffs. As a member of the advisory board of a Travelers Aid Department of a Young Women's Christian Association in one city for two years an understanding was secured of the problems involved in such an administrative set-up. As the case supervisor in one of the largest independent Travelers Aid Societies for four years some thousands of case records were read while many more were read when visits were made to twelve other cities and others were secured from the national office. At national and regional conferences regarding transients over a period of ten years Travelers Aid executives and workers were consulted about the work. Certain specific references are indicated in the footnotes.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRAVELERS AID WORK

From the beginning of time there have been men who traveled. The hardy hunted for food far from home, the revengeful pursued their enemies into distant places, the adventurous let their curiosity conquer their fear of the unknown wilderness. When the food supply became inadequate or stronger tribes drove them out of their homes whole groups of families traveled until they could find a place of plenty and safety for a new home. Civilization increased with travel, and tribes grew into nations and hamlets into cities. Military expeditions led many men to other lands while political and commercial scouts went even to distant places, breaking their way through the forests or trusting their lives to frail galleys or tiny sailboats. When the fine Roman roads were built travel increased tremendously and the wealthy began to travel for pleasure and to relieve boredom. Even in the dark ages with these roads in decay there were pilgrims who found ways to reach shrines, and in the middle ages some travelers found their way to places thousands of miles from home. Wars, religious persecution, famine, banishment, forced the home-loving to go elsewhere unwillingly and permanently, to found new cities and new nations.

While there were thus through the ages many who traveled, the vast majority of the people did no traveling at all but lived and died in the same house where they had been born, never journeying twenty miles from it. Even the persons who were part of one of the vast waves of migration often in one lifetime were only conscious of a move from one village to another not far away, for some of these migrations were gradual affairs lasting generations. No one could move quickly for, except for the old Roman roads, there were no roads in any modern sense. It was not until 1555 that the first general highway act was passed in England, and two centuries later the descriptions of the impassable roads and the slowness and discomfort of travel make one wonder that anyone attempted it.¹ Even in Elizabeth's day a man who had not traveled

¹Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Local Government: The Story of the King's Highway (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913).

was scarcely a "compleat gentleman," but most of the people had no ambition to attain that title. Sons followed in the footsteps of their fathers and daughters learned from their mothers the many household tasks and took care of the younger children until they had homes and babies of their own.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the life of great numbers of people was changing and the new industrial cities were being crowded by workers who had never seen a city before. But it was not the factories alone that changed life for everyone, but the newer and faster ways of communication and transportation. The changes that followed the invention of the steam-engine proceeded with lightning speed. In 1830 in the whole United States there were twenty-three miles of railways. Eighty years later there were 240,000 miles in the same area.¹ The same kind of people who in 1830 spent weeks in anxious preparation before undertaking a journey of twenty miles, by 1910 were commuting that far to work each day. Those who in the earlier period bid farewell forever to neighbors and relatives before starting off to some place a few hundred miles away were, eight decades later, going that far for a few days of pleasure or business without the slightest doubt that they would be safely home at a set time. But there were still the many who did little or no traveling, city and town people who had no money for extensive vacations and whose work never took them away from office, store, or factory; and farm families who had never visited a city. In many a community it was only the banker's daughter who could put on airs because she had been to New York or perhaps even to Europe and few stopped to consider that the "hunkies" or "wops" down by the tracks were indeed also traveled.

But then came the war and from every farm and hamlet those who had never traveled started out on long journeys, the men and boys to camps in distant parts of the country or off on ships to foreign shores, the women and girls to visit those camps or to go to work in munition factories far from home. Hundreds of thousands of young adults faced the excitement and bewilderment of being entirely among strangers for the first time. Instead of the stream of immigrants from other lands that had been pouring into the industrial cities, handicapped by a different language, there was now a stream of Negroes from the South, handicapped by a different color. It was not so much travelers from without who were in difficulty now, but persons moving from one part of the country to another and finding adjustment difficult. The man who could

¹ Daily News Almanac, 1931, p. 116.

tame any horse on the range was afraid in a Loop crowd, with the noisy elevated overhead, whizzing taxicabs, and clanging street-cars all about him. The woman who could milk the cows, kill the chickens, grow the vegetables, and prepare three meals a day for a dozen people found a city cafeteria so complicated and puzzling that she could not eat. Old people who had faced every danger of pioneer life actually died of terror in New York subways. Girls who a few weeks earlier had found a church social an exciting diversion, in the cities found strange new acquaintances.

And after the war the country did not settle back into what had previously been considered a normal amount of mobility. Everyone was restless and those who had traveled wanted to see more of the world. Life on the home farm was dull. The private automobile and the motor bus, finally even the aeroplane, speeded up the amount of travel.¹

In 1931 the same individuals who in their youth endured hardships for many long months to make the 12,000 mile journey around the Horn from New York to San Francisco or spent almost as long sailing to the isthmus, walking through the jungle, and waiting for a sailing vessel to pick them up on the west coast, or traveled with covered wagon and oxen across the plains, these same people now living who perhaps crossed on the first marvelous trans-continental railway in 1869, covering 3,000 miles in something over a week, can now go by rail in four and a half days or can fly the whole way in one day over regular commercial air lines. There are still old people in the mountain districts in this country who have never been on anything so new-fangled as a railroad, and there are a growing number of young people who have never traveled in such an old-fashioned way, although they have been from coast to coast. Thus fast is the world moving.

As long as there has been travel there have been travelers in distress. Primitive men fear strangers but sometimes do them honor because of this fear or because they are curious to learn more about them. Those who have traveled themselves may realize the hardships and be willing to help others. Hospitality as a religious duty appears early in history. The Jews were taught never to vex a stranger but to share their harvests with him, as they shared with the widow and orphan, and they were never to forget that they had been strangers in Egypt.² The Christians stressed the same duty and every traveler and pilgrim was welcome at the

¹See Chapter VIII.

²Exodus 22:21; Psalms 146:9; Leviticus 19:33-34, 23:22; Deuteronomy 24:19-22, 10:18-19.

monasteries, while the first hospitals were built not for the sick but to give shelter to all poor strangers.¹ In the Moslem world and in the eastern empire of the Tartars guest-houses and shelters where all might find hospitality were common.² When the poor law developed in England it sought to restrict the right to public relief to those who had a legal settlement in a given community,³ but private charity continued to give to the stranger⁴ and some of the newer religious groups such as the Methodists⁵ and the Salvation Army⁶ made a point of helping newcomers without friends.

In America, where everyone was a stranger, those who came first helped the newly arrived. In various coast cities St. Andrew's Societies gave advice and information to the Scotch, the Sons of St. George helped the English, the Loyal Sons of St. Patrick aided the Irish, and in some places, as in Philadelphia in 1793 and in New York in 1794, there were Societies for the Assistance of Persons Emigrating from Foreign Countries that helped all regardless of nationality or religion.⁷ In Maryland it was the

¹The good samaritan, St. Luke 10:30-35. Also Hebrews 13:2; Romans 12:13; I Peter 4:9. Léon Lallemand, Histoire de la Charité (Paris: A. Picard et Fils, 1902-1912), especially II, 123-142; III, 39-58, 115-134; Caroline A. J. Skeel, Travel in the First Century After Christ (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1901), pp. 1-110; Arthur Percival Newton, Travel and Travelers of the Middle Ages (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1926), especially pp. 31-60; J. J. Jusserand, English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1929), pp. 33-41, 117-120, 390-399; F. A. Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries (London: John Hodges, 1920), II, 500-501; Great Britain Report of the Charity Commissioners, IV, 376; VIII, 765; IX, 66; XII, 435.

²Arthur P. Newton, op. cit., pp. 124-158.

³Sidney and Beatrice Webb, English Local Government: English Poor Law History, especially Part I. The Old Poor Law (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1927), pp. 314-318; Dorothy Marshall, The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century (London: G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1926), pp. 228-239.

⁴Great Britain Report of the Charity Commissioners, IX, 65.

⁵John Wesley, The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley (London: R. Culley, 1909-1916), II, 19 (1738), VIII, 49 (1790).

⁶William Booth, In Darkest England and the Way Out (Chicago: C. H. Sergel & Co., preface 1890).

⁷J. T. Scharf and T. Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884 (Philadelphia: L. H. Everts & Co., 1884), II, 1466.

German Aid Society,¹ organized in 1782, that took the leadership, helping to change the laws regarding redemptioners, those persons who so wished to make their homes in America that they sold themselves into service for a period of years to pay for their passage from Europe. This organization had regular workers on the docks to meet every boat and gave travel service, medical and legal aid to those who were going on west over the mountains. By calling a convention and by co-operative arrangements it was organizing all the work for newcomers in the country into one whole when the United States government took over control of immigration and it turned its attention to helping widows in their own homes so that their children need not be placed in orphan asylums, an indication of the far-sighted wisdom of this group that might have organized a national travelers aid society.

One of the inland immigrant aid services² did indeed grow

¹Louis P. Henninghausen, History of the German Society of Maryland (Baltimore: Sold by W. E. C. Harrison & Sons, 1909).

²In 1849 Bryan Mullanphy, who had been mayor of St. Louis, left to that city one-third of his fortune "to furnish relief to all poor emigrants and travelers coming to St. Louis, on their way, bona fide, to settle in the West." A series of lawsuits, a special state law, various city ordinances, an inquiry by the Civic League finally led to the income from this fund being used to support a modern Travelers Aid Society giving service to all travelers and transportation money to persons going to western points where they had a legal settlement or someone to guarantee that they would not become dependent. See General Assembly of Missouri Acts of 1859, p. 280. Chambers v. City of St. Louis, 29 Mo. 543 (1860). St. Louis City Ordinance #5392 Aug. 2, 1864. Charter and Revised Ordinances of St. Louis 1866, pp. 499-501. Revised Ordinances of St. Louis 1881, Ch. 26, sec. 1-19, pp. 638-644; 1887 Sec. 1038-1056, pp. 810-816. Charter of St. Louis, 1914, Art. XIV. City of St. Louis v. McAllister, 281 Mo. 26 (1920). Louis Houck, A History of Missouri (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1908), I, 99; II, 364; III, 192; Howard L. Conard, Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri (New York: Haldeman, Conard & Co., 1901), IV, 504-506; Ruth Crawford, The Immigrant in St. Louis, Vol. I, No. 2, Studies in Social Economics (St. Louis: edited by the Faculty of the St. Louis School of Social Economy, 1916), pp. 99-102; Roger Baldwin, "Old Orders--New Deeds, How St. Louis Mullanphy Fund for Emigrants and Travelers was Rescued from the 'Dead Hand,'" Survey 34 (1915), 114-115; Reports of St. Louis Civic League, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917.

into one of the present Travelers Aid Societies but for the most part it was in the railroad stations, so different from the inns where the stage-coaches stopped, that Travelers Aid work in its modern phase finally started, not to furnish hospitality so much as to give protection and service, especially to young girls who travelled alone into the large cities. Various organizations started the work in London and by 1885 the Girls' Friendly Society, the Young Women's Help Society, the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, the Reformatory and Refuge Union, the Protective and Rescue Society for Jewish Girls, the National Vigilance Association, the Girls' Helpful Society, and fifteen other organizations united to start the first Travellers' Aid Society with women workers in the railway stations to advise girls about safe lodgings.¹

In the United States the first station work was done in New York² in the same year and in Boston³ two years later, but it was 1901 before the first true Travelers Aid Society with community-wide representation, entirely non-demoninational, was started in Philadelphia.⁴ The stories of the girls who disappeared each

¹National Travelers Aid Society Bulletin, Vol.1, No.5, p.9.

²By a worker from the Fruit and Flower Mission of the New York Hospital whose expenses were paid by two members of the Society of Friends who had observed the work being done in London. Later the New York Female Bible Society financed the work. See, ibid., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 7; Vol. 3, No. 5, p. 16.

³The first work in the railway stations in Boston was done by the Girls' Friendly Society, that on the docks by the Young Women's Christian Association, which had been organized in 1867 to befriend and protect inexperienced young strangers. It was not only in the charity organization societies that case work methods were developed. The preventive aspects of the work, the need of skill in short time contacts, the necessity of respecting individual differences and of working with, not just for, people are mentioned in the reports of the young graduate of Mount Holyoke College who was the Boston dock worker in the eighties. See ibid., Vol. 2, Nos. 1, 2, 3, pp. 16-17. Annual Reports of the Young Women's Christian Association, Boston, especially those of 1867, 1869, 1876, 1880, 1882, 1891, p. 36, 1897, p. 10. Elizabeth Wilson, Fifty Years of Association Work Among Young Women, 1866-1916 (New York: National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations of the United States of America, 1916), pp. 44-45.

⁴See the unpublished minutes of the board of directors 1901-1904 and the First Annual Report, 1902.

year¹ and especially during the world's fairs² at Chicago,³ 1893, St. Louis, 1903, and Portland, 1905, and investigations regarding the white slave traffic gave impetus to the work. The Young Women's Christian Association and other religious groups started the work in some cities while civic federations employed workers in other places. Mature, untrained, and unsupervised women, often in deaconess garb, told girls how to reach safe lodgings and advised them not to go with strangers.

It is not clear whether the relative safety of railway stations today is largely due to the presence of these quiet women or even if the stations were formerly as overrun with the agents of vice as some of the early reports unconvincingly indicated. At any rate, the early Travelers Aid workers soon found that travelers of all ages and sex turned to them for help when in difficulty and that children, the aged, runaway boys, and sick men were as much in need of assistance as the young girls. They also found that however well they might do their work in an individual city, it was of little effect if there were not workers in other cities

¹See Annual Reports of Travelers Aid Society of New York, especially 1910-1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1918.

²The Travelers Aid Society of California (San Francisco) was started shortly before the San Francisco Exposition to prevent the disappearance of girls during that fair.

³The Travelers Aid Department of the Chicago Young Women's Christian Association was organized in 1888, but the organization in 1911 of the Protectorate of the Catholic Woman's League and in 1914 of the Woman's Church Federation Protectorate (Protestant) has complicated the situation in that city so that the present Travelers Aid Society of Chicago, although organized in 1914, is still in 1931 an interdenominational rather than a non-denominational society. The Immigrants' Protective League has assisted thousands of newly arrived immigrants and for a time had a room across the street from one of the six large railway stations. This organization early pointed out that the federal government itself should aid one class of travelers and transients, those newly arrived in America. See Annual Reports of the Young Women's Christian Association of Chicago for 1902, 1910, 1911; Annual Reports of the Travelers Aid Society of Chicago and Illinois, 1914-1915, 1916; National Travelers Aid Society Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 15; Annual Reports of the Catholic Woman's League; Annual Reports of the Woman's Church Federation Protectorate; Annual Reports of the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, especially 1910-1911, pp. 19-20.

to co-operate with them in meeting travelers and following up those in trouble. They found that their work could not be restricted to the stations since they must visit homes of relatives, places of employment, and many addresses often to follow up cases in their own communities if they could not find some social worker connected with another agency to do it for them and to do it promptly.

It was the Travelers Aid Society of New York, organized in 1905 with a non-sectarian board of directors, which took the leadership in working toward nation-wide co-ordination of the work.¹ It has already been indicated how the war increased travel within the country and multiplied the numbers of travelers in difficulty. It was just on the eve of the war, in 1917, that the realization of the need of making Travelers Aid work a continuous chain of service with uniform standards led to the federation of all organizations doing station work into a National Travelers Aid Society and the executive of the New York society became the executive of the national organization. War needs led to the formation of many new organizations.²

After the war came the inevitable stock taking. A new national executive pointed out the flaws in the work:³ well meaning

¹Orin Clarkson Baker, Travelers Aid Society in America (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1917). See also Annual Reports of the Travelers Aid Society of New York, 1914 and 1917. The Southern Sociological Congress, which had a Travelers Aid Section in 1913, also helped to put the work on a non-sectarian basis. Various religious societies interested in travelers, such as the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Conference of Catholic Charities, the International Order of King's Daughters and Sons, as well as the Young Women's Christian Association, through their national officers approved the formation of a nation-wide non-sectarian service. See National Travelers Aid Bulletins and reports of these organizations.

²In 1910 there were 42 organizations having paid station workers, in 1915 there were 108, and in 1918 there were 200 Travelers Aid organizations. Of this number only 40, however, were independent non-sectarian Travelers Aid Societies, 89 were branches of Young Women's Christian Associations, 19 were branches of War Camp Community Service, and 52 were under other auspices. These 200 organizations covered the stations in only 182 cities, since more than one agency was at work in 13 cities.

³Virgil Johnson, "Analysis of the Travelers Aid Situation in the United States," National Travelers Aid Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 5, pp. 2-5.

but untrained women trying to be helpful, doing some good but also much harm, working at cross purposes with other social agencies, violating all the principles of case work, blind to the great possibilities to be helpful that lay before them. Perhaps he did not see what these same early workers had done in developing methods of giving travel service and that they had started the foundation of an excellent system of co-operation between cities, but he did make clear that only competent case workers could do the social work with travelers that was needed.

Somewhat later, in 1921, a study¹ made of the national association, while overlooking the case work possibilities in Travelers Aid work, pointed out clearly the weak points in organization: an inadequate national staff, carelessness in selling badges to workers and admitting to membership in the national association of local organizations, and, in the local units themselves, under the most diverse of religious, civic, or social auspices, every degree of efficiency or inefficiency. The need of standardization of the work was pointed out and the fact emphasized that while in nearly 84 per cent of the urban communities of the country, that is of places with over 2,500 population, representing a third of all the urban population, there were no Travelers Aid organizations at all, the chain of service was woefully incomplete. This report indicated that in only 166 of the 608 organizations was there even paid personnel, but did not make clear the reality that only these 166 were Travelers Aid organizations at all, the others serving only as co-operating representatives to give occasional service. There were only 53 independent and non-denominational Travelers Aid Societies, the other 113 being departments of other organizations, with more under the Young Women's Christian Association than under any other one type of agency, although as early as 1905 Grace Dodge, the national head of that association, had made clear the need for Travelers Aid work to be independent.

Progress has been made but the recommendations of these early reports have in many respects not yet been carried out by 1931. In 1,920, or two-thirds of all the urban communities, there is now available some Travelers Aid service, although some places are only covered incidentally by a worker in a nearby city and in over 1,200 places the only service is by request through a co-operating representative, sometimes a social worker, but in at least 300 places a person with no training in social work. Over

¹Raymond B. Fosdick and Mark M. Jones, Report on a Survey of the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies. (In 1920 the name had been changed as indicated.)

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF TRAVELERS AID SERVICE IN SPECIFIED SECTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1931 SHOWING WHERE CHARTERED SOCIETIES ARE LOCATED AND WHERE SOME TYPE OF SERVICE IS FOUND

Section of Country	Number of Chartered Societies	Cities With Some Service*
Total.....	133	1,920
New England.....	10	293
Middle Atlantic.....	19	448
East North Central.....	17	346
West North Central.....	12	214
South Atlantic.....	27	201
East South Central.....	10	54
West South Central.....	18	123
Mountain.....	6	89
Pacific.....	13	143
Outside Territory.....	1	9

*This includes cities where there are chartered societies, places where non-member agencies work, places where there are co-operating representatives or towns covered by societies in nearby cities.

95 per cent of the cities of over 25,000 are covered to the extent that there is someone there who can be asked to make a prompt investigation, to meet an arriving traveler, or to follow up a problem case and give friendly service to a newcomer; but in only 133 cities, or only a third of all the places over 25,000, is there complete Travelers Aid service by salaried full-time workers who meet all important trains, work under representative and active boards of directors, keep case records and statistics, have their accounts audited, their work endorsed by local endorsement bodies, sign the Transportation Agreement, and, as workers in organizations chartered for the year by the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, wear the national badge.¹

¹See complete list of chartered societies and of co-operating representatives in Travelers Aid Directory of 1931.

TABLE II

TRAVELERS AID CO-OPERATING REPRESENTATIVES IN THE UNITED STATES
IN 1931 SHOWING NUMBER IN CERTAIN SPECIFIED GROUPS*

Groups	Number
Total.....	1,210
Young Women's Christian Association.....	103
Other organizations primarily religious.....	31
Girls' Friendly Societies, King's Daughters, Salvation Army, Young Men's Christian Association, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Deaconess, Federated Churches, etc.	
Family Welfare Societies (Members of F. W. A. of A.)..	75
Family Service Societies, Associated Charities, Social Service Leagues, Charity Organization Societies, etc.	
American Red Cross (chapter or branch).....	418
Individuals.....	226
Including some who may represent organizations. Some have address as Court House, some are "Rev.," "Dr.," or "R.N.," in the directory	
Juvenile Court.....	71
Probation officer or judge	
Other public official or department.....	68
County Welfare Department, Superintendent of Child Welfare, Attendance Officer, Public Health Nurse, Mayor, Mother's Assistance Department, Sheriff, City Welfare Bureau, Police Woman, City Clerk, Probate Court, etc.	
Civic Association.....	33
Chamber of Commerce, Civic League, Woman's Club, Improvement Association, etc.	
Settlement or Community Organization.....	14
Neighborhood Association, Recreation Center, Sun- shine House, Community Council, etc.	
Non-member Travelers Aid organizations.....	21
Including some that are denominational	
Miscellaneous.....	150
Visiting Nurse Association, Tuberculosis Society, Humane Society, Altruist Society, Relief and Aid Society, State Charities Aid, S. P. C. C., Bureau of Social Service, Lend a Hand, etc.	

*Arranged from those listed in the Travelers Aid
Directory of 1931.

TABLE III

TRAVELERS AID SERVICE IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1931 SHOWING
NUMBER OF CITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES HAVING CHARTERED
SOCIETIES OR CO-OPERATING REPRESENTATIVES, COVERED
THROUGH ANOTHER CITY, OR HAVING NO SERVICE

Population	Total Cities	Some Travelers Aid Service	Chartered by National Travelers Aid Society				Co- oper- ating Representa- tive	Covered Travelers Aid or Co- operating ^a	No Service
			Total	Travelers Aid Society	Y.W. C.A.	Other			
Total	3,258 ^b	1,920	133	99	27	7	1,210	577	1,559
500,000 and over.....	13	13	13	13	..	.	..	..	...
250,000- 500,000..	25	24	23	19	3	1	..	1	1
100,000- 250,000..	54	53	36	28	8	.	15	2	1
50,000- 100,000..	91	89	29	21	7	1	47	13	2
25,000- 50,000...	170	158	19	14	3	2	114	25	12
10,000- 25,000...	566	427	13	4	6	3	327	87	139
5,000- 10,000...	879	457	..	..	..	.	316	141	422
2,500- 5,000....	1,460	478	..	..	..	.	307	171	982
Less than 2,500....	..	99	..	..	..	.	39	60	...
Uncertain ^c	..	122	..	..	..	.	45	77	...

^a These cities have no regular Travelers Aid service of their own but are covered by workers in some nearby place. It will be noted that some large cities are covered in this way, Cambridge by Boston, Jersey City by New York, etc.

^b Cities over 2,500 (Figures from Daily News Almanac as secured from Census districts).

^c This includes places listed in directory but not in the census list, such as unincorporated towns, places recently annexed to other cities, etc.

TABLE IV

SOURCE OF SUPPORT OF 133 TRAVELERS AID SOCIETIES IN 1930
SHOWING AMOUNT AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE TOTAL
OF ALL LOCAL BUDGETS WHICH COMES FROM EACH SOURCE

	Amount	Per cent
All sources.....	\$1,020,373.31	100.0
Community Chests ^a	590,484.22	56.8
Transportation companies ^b	78,058.92	7.6
City ^c	28,866.00	2.8
County.....	3,750.00	0.3
State ^d	7,125.00	0.6
Church.....	5,192.86	0.5
Societies.....	10,555.28	1.3
Individuals.....	174,041.25	17.5
Endowments and bequests.....	27,343.25	2.6
Reimbursements.....	8,742.05	0.8
Other.....	22,390.82	2.1
Not stated ^e	\$ 133,676.66	13.9

^aFive cities with Community Chests are included in the Not stated group, so the total from Chests is probably larger than that given. In one city with a Chest, St. Louis, the support is entirely from a bequest.

^bIn addition to the amount here given, in one city the transportation company pays the salary of one worker and in many cities not only is desk space provided but telephone service is given and sometimes even long distance or telegraph service on some cases. Passes so that executives may attend conferences form another contribution from this source especially in the West. The real total would therefore be much larger and one hundred per cent of the agencies get some help from this source.

^cIn one city there are also two workers paid from city funds.

^dTwo of the agencies in the Not stated group are known to also receive a subsidy from the state. In fact one place where there is no Travelers Aid Society whatever receives a subsidy for this purpose! In another place the Travelers Aid Society office has a suite of rooms in a state building rent free.

^eSee footnote a, above.

These 133 chartered Travelers Aid Societies are the main body of the whole system. In 16 of the cities there was some organized station work to help travelers already in existence in 1900, in 37 others it was organized by 1910, in 71 more by 1920, and in the last decade only 9 new places have been added. In 81 other cities Travelers Aid organizations with paid workers, including 35 organizations once members of the national association, have been discontinued. In some cases the need was temporary due to the presence of training camps for soldiers, but in others the need is more vital in 1931 than ever before, but community interest has lagged.

The 1921 survey recommended at least six field workers for the national staff, but 1931 finds only two to cover the whole United States. This staff has been occupied with the reorganization of small Travelers Aid departments of large organizations that are interested primarily in other activities and programs into independent Travelers Aid Societies, trying to make clear how church connections and interdenominational affiliations limit usefulness of agencies that need community-wide support and to give service to every traveler in need, and the replacing of deaconesses and untrained women, often confused with railway matrons, by social case workers. The task has been a large one, and it is not completed yet. Of the present chartered agencies, 86 started as departments of Young Women's Christian Associations and 27 still have that affiliation in spite of the efforts of both national organizations to encourage the transition. Eight other agencies have some other connection and only 98 are entirely independent Travelers Aid Societies.

In the chartered organizations there were in March, 1931,¹ 631 paid workers, but 73 of these were clerical workers, 7 worked in guest-houses, and 67 gave only part time service in the stations, at night or on holidays or in vacations, leaving 474 full-time professional workers, about 401 of whom definite information is available. Two hundred and fifty-four or almost two-thirds of the professional workers had attended college and 128 or nearly one-third held university degrees. One hundred fifty-one, or over a third, for the most part from the group of those who had been to college, had attended a school of social work. Sixty-nine, or over one-sixth, were college graduates who had also attended a school of social work, but this is the amount of preparation that every Travelers Aid worker needs according to a report made in

¹ At this time a questionnaire was sent to each of the 133 chartered Travelers Aid Societies, through the national office.

1920 by a committee of executives of the larger agencies.¹

Some of the workers in 1931 are extremely well equipped, for 109 have had case work experience in family agencies, 64 have done social work with children, 20 have been medical social workers, 7 are psychiatric social workers, 94 have done other types of social work, in settlements, in institutions for defectives or delinquents, agencies dealing with immigrants or other special groups. Only 58 have been Young Women's Christian Association workers before doing Travelers Aid work. Ninety-four have traveled abroad and many speak foreign languages. Six are lawyers, three hold Masters' degrees in social sciences, 32 have been nurses, 138 have had experience in business, 129 have been teachers.

Over one-fourth of the workers are members of the American Association of Social Workers, for there were 98 senior members and 9 junior members in 47 of these organizations. From the information sent in it would seem probable that in 42 of the agencies that have no member of the American Association of Social Workers at present, at least one worker is eligible under the rules in force in 1931, while in 18 probably no one could qualify, and the status of 26 agencies is unknown. In 1922 a group of Travelers Aid executives asked that one of the minimum requirements for a charter should be that at least one member of the staff should be eligible for membership in the American Association of Social Workers.² In March, 1931 there were still 15 or over three per cent of the full-time social workers in chartered agencies that had not even attended high school. In 19 of the chartered agencies there was not one worker who had had any previous experience in social case work or who was a college graduate or who had ever attended a school of social work. Among the 26 agencies that failed to send information on these points there are probably others that would make no better showing. There is still a group of agencies within the association that may be said to be in the ante bellum stage of Travelers Aid work, when experience in life, good intentions, and a willing spirit were thought to be all the qualifications needed for this type of work.

It is regrettable that other national agencies such as the Family Welfare Association of America have no information available as to the education and previous experience of the workers in their member agencies. Some of their well-known workers have had little formal education and apprentice training is still recog-

¹Virgil Johnson, op. cit., Vol. 3, No. 5, pp. 2-5.

²National Travelers Aid Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1-2.

nized, according to their membership requirements,¹ as sufficient for an executive. Without even apprentice training and with no stated amount of education for anyone in an agency, that agency may become a member of the Family Welfare Association of America if twenty-five satisfactory case records are found in the agency files. Mary Richmond herself was not a college graduate. But Travelers Aid has less of intelligent skilled service behind it and it cannot lean back on past glories but must face the present and look to the future, and it must have workers capable of meeting new needs and working out new methods.

While education cannot be compared for lack of information from the family agencies, salary figures are available for 1929² from 215 family welfare agencies and 45 Jewish agencies, the latter bringing the totals higher than would otherwise be the case. Comparing Travelers Aid salaries for 1930,³ it is found that in agencies with 20 to 49 workers the lowest salary paid a Travelers Aid executive is higher than the lowest salary paid in a family agency of corresponding size, and in one-worker agencies some Travelers Aid workers receive more than is paid in any one-worker family agencies; but median salaries in agencies of all sizes are lower for Travelers Aid executives than for the general secretaries of family agencies. Travelers Aid executives salaries range from over \$4,000 down to \$720, the most usual being \$3,000 to \$2,000; while in family work, eliminating the group of agencies that have much larger staffs than any Travelers Aid Society, they range from \$9,000 down to \$1,092, \$3,600 to \$2,000 being usual. Travelers Aid supervisors are paid about as well as those in the other field. Station and case workers in Travelers Aid receive salaries ranging from \$1,920 down to \$600, the most usual being from \$1,500 to \$1,200, while in family agencies case workers get from \$2,000 down to \$720, the most usual being \$1,500 to \$1,300, if both the very large agencies and the workers in training are eliminated, for the latter, like Travelers Aid part-time workers,

¹See Qualifications for Membership, Intercity Service of the Family Welfare Association of America, 1931, p. 4.

²Ralph G. Hurlin, "Salaries in Family Case Work in 1929," The Family, XI (July, 1930), 139-148.

³Detailed figures for all but 24 of the chartered Travelers Aid Societies were secured through the national office. The largest society gave only its salary total. The other organizations for which detailed figures were lacking represented few workers. Salaries of 412 Travelers Aid workers were compared with 971 family welfare workers.

are paid less than any conceivable living wage.

The average salary for 472 full-time Travelers Aid workers in 1930 was \$1,477, in 1926 the average for 473 workers was \$1,274,¹ while ten years earlier a large share of all the workers were unpaid deaconesses, so progress is being made, but salaries must be increased if persons with professional equipment are to carry on the work. A poor widow without enough education to teach a country school or enough strength to work in a store or factory may be employed for \$50 a month, but a college graduate with school of social work training or experience in other types of social work should not be asked to start at even twice that amount.

Even before the national society was organized the New York Travelers Aid Society began collecting service statistics from other cities, and organizations have become accustomed to send in annual reports. More cases served than individuals aided, enormous numbers from small agencies and small ones from large cities, such items as "persons directed to ticket window" or services which any porter or matron might give, characterize these early reports. But as one examines large numbers of these reports as sent in to the national office year by year two facts stand out: first, that true social services such as case work assistance to the physically and mentally ill, the problem child, the unstable family, all transients in distress, are becoming more important than the giving of incidental information or even than arranging travel service; and, second, that standardization is taking place as the same forms and the same terms come to be used in all cities.²

The reports from 1920 to 1930 show each year over 1,000,000 individuals, distributed in about 700,000 cases, aided by Travelers Aid workers. Travel has increased, but according to these reports the persons aided have not increased. One reason for this inconsistency is that the accuracy of the figures has been constantly improving, so that the counting of the same case several times in the same city, at both station and office, or on arrival and departure, has nearly ceased and persons to whom unimportant information is given are no longer counted at all. It would be well for the large figures to be cut still further until everyone could be sure that for the actual number rendered, professional service was given. Just how much the problems in railway stations may have

¹Travelers Aid, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 7.

²The national bulletin, the National Manual, completed in 1926 by a committee of executives, and national committees on statistics have helped by carefully defining all terms and making simple instructions available.

decreased because of the diverting of much passenger traffic to buses and other newer forms of transportation is not clear, but it is known that three-fourths of Travelers Aid cases originated in railway stations and a little over three per cent in bus stations in 1930 although many more traveled by bus than by train during the year.¹ There are workers in bus stations in a number of cities now but if Travelers Aid workers do not adapt their work quickly to the shifts in transportation they are doomed to a decreasing usefulness. The change is not simple for buses present new and different problems, but that Travelers Aid workers are able to develop co-operation with transportation employees is apparent from the fact that the number of cases referred for service by these men has steadily increased year by year until 1930, when most station figures show a decline.

Attempts have been made and are continuing to determine how much of Travelers Aid work is case work and how much is merely the giving of information or of travel service, but it is not easy to draw the line between the various parts of the work. Over 235,000 cases in 1930² received advice and information only, but of over 85,000 connected with relatives and friends, the 41,000 met by appointment, the 150,000 placed en route, and the 210,000 to whom other travel services were given, case work may or may not have been needed or supplied. However it is known that a large share, but it is not known how large, of the 50,000 children traveling alone came from broken or breaking homes and needed and received some follow-up case work either by Travelers Aid workers, children's workers to whom they were transferred, or co-operating representatives in smaller communities, and that in many cases the needed follow up of these unhappy, unwanted children was impossible because they were going to places where not even a non-social worker co-operating representative was available. For each of the 5,300 runaways case work was either done directly or by a case work agency to whom the case was transferred, the child being held in the city until social, medical, psychological, and psychiatric study should determine the next step. For 3,100 of the 37,000 physically disabled that came to the attention of workers, medical advice or

¹According to Motor Bus Facts, 1931, over five billion passengers traveled by bus from one city to another in 1930; and according to A Yearbook of Railway Information, 704,053,000 passengers were carried on Class I Steam Railways in 1930.

²The annual service reports of all the chartered societies are compiled by the national organization each year. These figures have been reduced to round numbers in part of the discussion.

treatment was secured. It is not known how many of the others were already securing medical aid and only needed travel service or help in locating friends or advice about lodgings, and how many needed but did not receive help in making contacts with clinics and hospitals. There were 2,721 cases where mental disability definitely diagnosed by psychologist or psychiatrist was the trouble, but mental examinations were secured in more than 3,800 cases. Every one of the 1,258 unmarried mothers required case work. All of the 51,000 immigrants were given travel service and either transferred at once to a specialized agency in cities where such existed or helped to make contacts with school, church, or club or given intensive case work help if that were needed. Of the 1,500 marriage problems, that is, girls from other countries coming to marry men they might or might not know and matrimonial agency brides, it is recorded that 420 marriages were witnessed or verified, but was it good case work or chance that prevented the other marriages.

The 6,000 for whom charity rate tickets were secured, the 4,000 for whom transportation from Travelers Aid funds was given, and the 6,000 for whom it was secured from other sources, tell part of the story about what happened to the 18,000 dependent non-residents, while the 3,500 to whom money was loaned and the 19,000 given relief from Travelers Aid funds and the 6,000 for whom it was secured elsewhere show other economic adjustments, but often the relief or loan represented only a few cents for a lunch or a street-car fare. All of the 42,000 cases registered with the Social Service Exchange in the cities where there were clearing-houses required case work but often some other agency was found that already knew the family and could carry on all the work needed. Thirty-four thousand cases were referred to other organizations for special services such as medical care, temporary lodging, or mental rating, while the case work responsibility remained with Travelers Aid workers, but 43,000 cases were definitely and entirely transferred to other case work agencies.

In a special study made in 1928 and 1929 of the work in 26 cities for the national organization, it was found that case work was a factor in nearly 60 per cent of the cases and that, while some were referred or transferred, in more than 70 per cent of these cases Travelers Aid workers did all the case work themselves. The case work aspect of Travelers Aid work is coming more and more to the front and its future lies there, but this does not mean that the giving of travel service or work in the station should be abandoned, for it is through these seemingly less important contacts that Travelers Aid workers find opportunities to discover cases of need early and to reach persons who would not get to other agencies until complete breakdowns had occurred.

CHAPTER III

CHILDREN TRAVELING ALONE

In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to set out the facts with reference to the development and organization of the Travelers Aid services that have been found essential as supplementary under modern conditions of travel, the services of the transportation companies, especially the railroads, whose representatives have found and are finding out that many who use their facilities are in need of assistance to prevent that use resulting in tragedy instead of successful adjustment in a new community. In those chapters the extent of the provision for service was described. In the following chapters, however, attention will be given to those in whose behalf these services are organized. There reference was made to the worker, whether she be a professional social worker, a representative of a church, a deaconess perhaps, or some other unpaid person. In the following pages, on the contrary, attention will be directed toward those who are aided. Among those needing special assistance come first, perhaps, the children traveling alone. Their need of assistance is one of which the general public is little aware.

The statement that over 50,000 children under sixteen years old travel alone each year in care of Travelers Aid brings to the minds of many people the conditions under which perhaps their own children might travel. They see, for example, a picture of a capable boy of twelve making for the first time the journey alone to the farm of his aunt, four or five hours away, where he is to spend a two weeks vacation, his parents kissing him goodbye and cautioning him not to speak to strangers, the Travelers Aid worker placing him in care of the conductor and sending a telegram, while the aunt waits at the destination to give him a fine welcome. Indeed, many people fail to see why Travelers Aid is needed at all for such service as looking out for children alone.

Parents who are intelligent and sincerely interested in their children frequently send them quite alone on long journeys, sending at the last minute a wire asking the relative at the other end, "who is never away from home," to meet the child at the station. The relative nevertheless may be away from home, perhaps on a little trip, when the poor, bewildered child arrives. Of the 80,000 to 90,000 cases a year marked "failure to meet relatives

or friends" many are children. How many children arrive in towns where there are no Travelers Aid workers in the station and where no co-operating representative has been notified because Travelers Aid has not been asked to help, how many are helped by some kindly station agent or some obliging stranger, and how many have fallen into the hands of the most undesirable new acquaintances, no one knows. Cases of unmet children who have been taken home by a sex pervert, by someone slightly demented who has badly frightened the child, or by individuals who thought that it would be amusing to see what a youngster who had several drinks of whiskey would do, sometimes come to the attention of Travelers Aid workers. That the parents resolve to use Travelers Aid in the future and avoid the possibility of such occurrences does not wipe out from the mind of the child a single horrible memory.

Some parents feel that they have taken every precaution when, before they start the child on the journey, they get word from the relative at the destination that she will meet the child, and when they have placed the child in the care of someone who seems to be a railway employee. Apparently there are many people who do not know that just as there is only one captain on a ship, so on a train there is in supreme command one man, the train conductor, a man chosen for that responsible position only after years of experience and an excellent record for integrity. If, on a transcontinental trip, he leaves the train when it continues on to another division, over tracks belonging to a different company, he transfers to the next conductor all his through passengers and all his instructions about them, including definite directions about every person who is in care of Travelers Aid. In the case of a wreck, a hold-up, a death or birth on the train, a fight or in any emergency, he is the man in command. Travelers Aid workers learn to know these men who often work many years on the same roads, and they in turn learn to know the Travelers Aid workers and to co-operate with them. For instance in the case of an eight-year-old child who was coming from an eastern city to one in the far West, and who fortunately was placed in charge of Travelers Aid, when she became severely ill a few hours after leaving New York, the conductor wired back to New York Travelers Aid that such was the case and that he would leave the little traveler with Travelers Aid in Albany to whom he also wired. She was rushed to a hospital where an operation was necessary to save her life, but the relatives at both ends of the line were notified at once through Travelers Aid, and everything was done for her that relatives could wish. There was no delay in trying to find out who she was, or where she belonged as would have been the case if she had traveled independently.

While the Pullman conductor and the Pullman porter may be continuing on the train all the way across the country, they are not employees of the railway, and not responsible in the same way as is the train conductor. This is not to imply that they are not among the most helpful of all those who co-operate with Travelers Aid workers. Not a few college graduates are found among the porters. It is the porters who see that the children go to bed and get up when they should, who see that their faces are washed, who amuse them, and keep them from getting off the train and being left behind at stations along the way, who give all sorts of kindly service and supervision, sometimes to quite unruly children, and in most cases they expect and receive no tip. It should not be forgotten that they have many other duties besides taking care of the children, the sick, and the helpless. Most railways do not allow any children under five to travel alone, because a child over that age should be able to give itself some elementary physical care, but a train is a strange place to anyone unaccustomed to travel, and children much larger than this require help in keeping decently clean. At the direct request of Travelers Aid or through instructions given to the conductor, it is possible to arrange for the dining-car steward to provide meals as simple and wholesome as a child should have. How often, in sending a child alone on a journey the parents overlook the danger of heavy, unaccustomed food and sweets to a child who is already in a highly nervous condition from the excitement of a train ride. It even happens that parents, or perhaps social agencies, sending a child forget to arrange for food at all. One child made a three day trip across the country without a bite to eat.

Parents who think Travelers Aid is unnecessary often place their child in the care of a man who, while in uniform and a railway man, may be going off duty at the next station or whose work may have to do with baggage or brakes, not with the passengers; or perhaps even in the care of a so-called "peanut butcher" who is employed by neither the railway nor the Pullman company and who will be leaving the train at some junction point. Any one of these men, if he has time, may turn over the child to the conductor, but they all have other duties and are not supposed to bother with children at all.

The most dangerous proceeding on the part of parents is to place children in the care of complete strangers who are also traveling. Sometimes this is done as a way of saving money. A child under a certain age requires no ticket if he is with an adult, and quite large children may sleep in half a berth, so the parent with a child who must travel looks around the station and seeing a nice looking woman who says her destination is that to

which the child is to go, offers to pay a small amount if this woman will just take her child along, and she promises that someone will be at the destination to take the child off her hands as soon as she arrives. Most people like children and many are interested in a chance to reduce their expenses, and many children travel this way quite safely, but to the attention of Travelers Aid workers come too late the cases that have not worked so well. Perhaps the woman traveler may be all that she should be, but there is no one to meet the child when she arrives, she is in a hurry and leaves the child with another stranger or she shows a great deal of irritation because her conscience will not allow her to do this and she may take the child home with her, not knowing what else to do and then the tardy relative is sure that the child has been kidnapped, the police are called in, and much trouble ensues. Sometimes the woman is indignant to find that she has contracted the itch from sleeping with a complete stranger, but "such a sweet little girl." Sometimes the nice woman is not so kindly as she looks and mistreats the child, uses poor judgment by stuffing her with candy or teasing her into a tantrum, or even actually may kidnap her. It is extensive experience that leads Travelers Aid workers to refuse the requests of other agencies to send a child in the care of an adult unless the worker can have time to study that adult as a worker in a children's agency would feel it necessary to study the woman with whom she expected to place a child for a few days.

So far this subject has been discussed as though all the children traveling alone were normal children taking a little trip from a happy home to visit some desirable relatives. But most of the children who travel are not so happily situated. Of those who are going to or from school there are the many dependent and defective children. For instance, the worker on an early morning shift may receive a wire saying that thirty-five children will arrive from the State School for the Deaf and Blind in a half hour en route to homes all over that end of the state, where they will spend their summer vacations. There is no time to notify anyone except to try to get another worker to come to the station to help. Off the train they come, each deaf child leading one blind child, the blind children telling not only who they are, but also who are their partners, and each child carrying written instructions from the superintendent: one to be transferred to a train that leaves from another station, several to continue on the electric cars or busses, others to wait in the station until called for. The blind children can feel the Travelers Aid badge and the deaf ones point to it and shake hands with themselves to indicate they recognize a friend or try to say the words, for in learning

to speak these are useful words to them. Only travel service is needed, but the expense of sending a state employee five hundred miles is saved and Travelers Aid can efficiently do what a teacher or matron would find very difficult and confusing.

Children from other types of state schools, the mentally defective and the delinquent, usually must travel with an attendant, for Travelers Aid is not in a position to accept too much responsibility for the safe travel of problem children, but sometimes such children coming home on parole travel alone.

The federal government also turns to Travelers Aid to help with its wards and large numbers of Indian children journey from the home reservation to the government school in care of Travelers Aid workers. There is seldom a smile on their faces when they see the badge, for it is to them just another symbol of the great power that pushes them about, removing them from their families and friends, out of their sunny out-of-doors into gloomy schools where they are taught to become the servants of this superior race. Like cattle on the way to the stockyards they get off one train and on to another or wait in the station for the government matron to come for them, giving little response to the kindness on the part of the worker or matron. In these cases also it is only travel service that is given, but Travelers Aid workers, interested in all children and believing that children should be happy, have an interest in the Indian policy of the government.

There are many children found to be exploited by those in whose care they are traveling. Young actors and performers sometimes travel alone or in groups without adult supervision. Juvenile motion picture stars may be sent out to location or returned to school in care of Travelers Aid and the workers learn to know the nervous, egocentric children and the blase, bored ones to whom professional duties must come before normal childish interests. Social workers connected with the schools who each month decide whether work permits can be renewed carry the case work responsibility, so that the worker in the station only co-operates with travel service.

In a somewhat different class are the children who act in little fly-by-night shows or are used to help in advertising some doubtful charitable institution. Usually these children are accompanied by adults, but sometimes they are abandoned in strange cities or are left to be sent on alone, giving the Travelers Aid worker an opportunity to turn them over to the Juvenile Court or a children's agency that will protect them and, after determining where they will receive proper care, send them there in care of Travelers Aid. Young Negro children in need of such services have been coming to the attention of the workers in Baltimore, as

the following excerpt from the report illustrates:¹

The Watermellon Quartette, the Louisiana Mess Around Show, and the Dancing Dandies, arrived at different times during 1930, with broad grins and many sets of ivory teeth and twirling toes all ready to make big money as promised by white promoters who coralled these boys when they saw them singing and dancing on the southern streets. After a few itinerant engagements, the proceeds of which were pocketed by the white promoters who disappeared, these dusky youngsters were brought to Travelers Aid by a sympathetic policeman.

After learning the facts, it was found possible to send all these children home to their parents.

Many of the children who travel alone are naturally fragments of broken homes, unhappy, frightened, bewildered children to whom tragedy has come too early; or the even more pathetic group who know that their parents are trying to get rid of them and to evade all responsibility.

Sometimes Travelers Aid can step in and save the situation. An old and obviously somewhat senile man came to a Travelers Aid office saying a railway ticket man had told him he had better see Travelers Aid when he asked for two half fare tickets to send his two little granddaughters to their father in a distant city. He was irritated at the delay when Travelers Aid refused to let them travel in its care until an inquiry had been made in that city, but the railway man quite overlooking his chance to sell tickets that would have brought the railroad \$200 and understanding and believing in Travelers Aid procedure, persuaded him to wait. His own story was incoherent but he declared he could no longer be bothered with the children on his chicken ranch and he was contemplating getting married and moving into the city where there would be no room for them. The mother of the children was in a state hospital in a third state and several brothers and sisters in state schools for defectives in a fourth state. The grandfather was determined that the journey should start next day, and since he could not actually refuse to sell tickets the railway man allowed reservations to be made for the following evening when the children were to be brought in to the city from the ranch.

At the appointed time he appeared with two timid but attractive children and his daughter, their aunt, who, before he decided to marry, had given up a position she had held for many years in another large city to come to keep house for him and the children. He was not interested in what might happen to her. By this time the Travelers Aid worker had learned by telegrams from three other Travelers Aid agencies that the mother had dementia praecox and was not expected to recover; the other children were doing well in institutions but would need years of care and training after which they might be placeable; the father, who had deserted years before,

¹ Annual Report for 1930 of Baltimore Travelers Aid Society.

never worked, but was a drunkard who was living in a disreputable part of town with a woman not his wife, had no desire to have the children and swore when he heard they might be sent to him. The old man was firm that he was going to send the children anyhow. He had the tickets and he defied anyone to stop him. He would not allow his daughter to speak in his presence and he was in a hurry to go to see his fiancée. He gave the tickets to his daughter, ordered her to put the children on the train, and departed.

The children in the meantime were crying dismally and clinging to their aunt. She now had a chance to say something, and implored the Travelers Aid worker to do something as she alone had not the strength to take the situation into her own hands and for the time being she was dependent on her father. With her consent the children were filed on in the Juvenile Court as being without proper guardians, and were kept in the care of the Court until the hearing, so that the grandfather could not send them away. As dependent wards of the court in the care of their devoted aunt but under the permanent supervision of the Travelers Aid worker, since they lived in the country beyond the district where children's agencies reach, their board paid by the grandfather on court order and by the court itself, getting medical aid as needed in city clinics and good training in school, intelligent care from the aunt who realizes that their doubtful heredity makes a calm, wholesome environment doubly necessary, they are developing into splendid young women.

In an atmosphere of love and security a child has a chance. Without either, the child is sure to be unhappy and more than likely to present behavior problems. Travelers Aid workers cannot stop the stream of unwanted children from being shipped about the country, but they can salvage some of them, help to put some of the broken homes together, and co-operate with all the other agencies for child care and protection.

For children whose homes have been broken by death to make long journeys alone is no new phenomenon. Before the days of telegraphs and cables, when a journey across the Atlantic was a matter of months, to send children back to the old country could not wait on any investigation. For instance, the following letter is found in the minutes of the Orphan Masters of New Amsterdam under date of June 9, 1656:¹

To Worthy, Very Discret, the Grandfather or in his absence the nearest friends of the minor children of Cornelius Groesen, deceased.

By the ship d'Wagh

Whereas it has pleased our Lord God, to take Cornelius Groesen and wife out of this world in the last encounter with

¹Translated and edited by Berthold Fernow (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1920), Vol. No. 1, p. 22.

the Indians and let their two children remain the prisoners of the Indians for some time, from which captivity they were ransomed in the spring, we have thought it advisable, having learned that you are the next blood relation of good estate and means, to send the children herewith over to you and to inform you of the condition of their inheritance

From the group of homes broken by death come such children as the five-year-old girl who, after her widowed mother had died, journeyed from California to Scotland to make her home with her grandmother. Workers of six Travelers Aid Societies co-operated to make her journey safe, meeting her at points where she must change trains or boats and arranging with transportation officials for their co-operation. So also was travel service necessary for

the three children under nine years old who had just witnessed their father shoot their mother and himself and who were accompanying the bodies on a two thousand mile journey to the home of grandparents they had never seen. The sheriff in the suburban town, who had been called in by the neighbors at the moment of the tragedy, at once turned to the Travelers Aid worker when he heard that the only relatives were far away, for he had many times helped that agency to locate relatives or friends of new arrivals who were unsure of addresses. A quick investigation by wire and the assurance that the grandparents had a good home and wanted the children, while a case work agency would follow up the case at that end, and the children were ready to start. The case worker in the station has only a few minutes to get acquainted, but she tries to help the eight-year-old face responsibility and instead of trying to stop the three-year-old from laughing and playing as if there had been no murder, to devote herself to trying to get the stony-eyed six-year-old interested in the scenery and some playthings. The conductor has grandchildren of his own and he will carry on and protect the children from over curious fellow passengers who enjoy hearing the details of crimes.

A group of six children ranging in age from fourteen years to six months, arriving from the Northwest in a city on the south Atlantic coast, with a name of a grandmother, but no address, proved to be from a home broken by the death of the mother and the prompt disappearance of the father. A careless social worker in the Northwest had written to the grandmother saying that her daughter was dead, and the dazed old woman, who did not even know that there was a sixth baby, had written back that she would do what she could for the little ones. So here they all were, and when the grandmother was at last located there were many kinds of service to be rendered.

That there should be someone in the court to represent the children in all divorce cases when there are children is the belief of every Travelers Aid worker. Whether it should be a representative of the local juvenile court, of the state department of

child welfare, or of a true court of domestic relations, is not so important; but the interest of the children should be kept in mind. A judge, whose training is all in law, who knows nothing of the social history of a family, who tries to be fair both to the man and the wife and finds the problem too complicated for him to hold in mind the welfare of the children, can be expected to continue making devastating decisions that help feed the stream of children traveling alone. Three months custody to the father, then three months to the mother, and so on through the years of growth and development is almost sure to mean a lack of the feeling of security which every child needs, poor school work from the constant interruptions, and confusion leading on to behavior difficulties if not actual delinquency. Probably the judge does not vision the parents as very often living in widely separated cities with the child like a shuttle being thrown back and forth between them.

One little red headed dimpled youngster after five years of four journeys a year between parents fifteen hundred miles apart, from an indifferent mother more interested in her new husband and baby than in this child and usually forgetting even to meet her, to an adoring father, over-sollicitous for her welfare, the one who always insists on Travelers Aid care for her each way, has become a sophisticated, pert girl, her face painted so that all eyes turn in her direction. Travelers Aid workers in a city where she changes trains only give travel service, but in the cities where the two parents live adjustments have been made so that, regardless of the local movements of the parents, she stays during her three months in the city in a school where she is known and where the teachers who understand the situation can keep her up to her grade, helping her each time to make the transition from the different system of another state. That the reason the mother insists on having her is only to spite the father seems clear to the case workers who have tried to arouse some real interest on her part. In the other city when the father moved a young housekeeper into the two room apartment, it took only a hint from the agency that his home might not be considered fit for his child, for him to make better arrangements. Now the child is large enough to help him keep house and he and she look forward to the time when she may live there all the time. The mother's wealth and influence, combined with her attitude, has made it seem unwise to have the custody question referred back to the divorce court again, for the father's home from the material point of view is much less desirable, and the court might decide that a young girl should be with her mother all the time.

Many of the children resemble the wards of a certain orphan asylum in which when a visitor asked, "Do any of the children have one parent still alive?" the Mother Superior answered grimly, "Most of them have four parents, that is why they are here." Little tots babbling about visiting their new daddies, or telling

about how much more they like Marie than the last mamma that daddy brought home for them, travel back and forth, even when there has been no court order to make this necessary. A parent starting on a new honeymoon is often glad to let a discarded mate keep the child for a while. Many of the situations are too complicated for the case worker in the station, unless she has great skill and good judgment, and unless the other agencies in the community stand ready to help.

One morning the conductor on an incoming train turned over to the worker a fifteen-year-old girl with whom he had had difficulty in the night because she had, according to him, invited and allowed a strange man to get in her berth. The child in a sophisticated manner, explained that it was a mistake, through the porter the man had sent three dollars to her and after a while the man came in, but she didn't even notice him or know why he was there and then the conductor came and yanked him out. The man had hopped off the train before it reached the city. While the conductor attended to having the porter promptly dismissed, the worker instead of taking the girl to the detention home and filing a petition in delinquency in the Juvenile Court, which she too late decided she should have done, telephoned the mother whose address was in a fashionable neighborhood. A well dressed but emotional woman soon appeared at the station, hushed the worker who tried to talk to her and took the child home. At the school it was found the girl was failing in every study, her attendance was irregular, and her friends had a bad influence on her. A home visit gave a further picture of the hysterical mother. It seemed that the girl had been paying one of her frequent visits to her father in the next state where he lived with his second wife. The mother was upon her third matrimonial venture. She found it made her blue to stay at home and admitted that she was seldom there even after school hours and in the evening and that she didn't know what her daughter did, except that she spent several nights a week at friends' homes, friends whom the mother had not met. She expressed great love and devotion to her "baby" as she called her young daughter. When the worker insisted on telling her what the conductor had said, she considered it all foolishness. Her baby knew nothing of such things and still thought that storks brought babies. In fact she was "as pure as snow." She would not allow the worker to see the girl.

At this point the worker filed in the Juvenile Court, alleging that the girl was a child without parents exercising proper parental control. Immediately there was a stir. The stepfather, who had never paid any attention to the girl, hired an attorney and through lodge and political channels reached the ear of the chief probation officer. Before the case could come to court, he tore up the petition and told the worker that, on his advice, this fifteen-year-old girl, although the minimum marriage age even with the parents' consent was sixteen, had been taken to another county and married to a high school boy, one of those who might have been responsible for the fact that she was several months pregnant. She had then been shipped off to her father so that she might have the baby in another state and give it away. He was quite pleased

with his solution of the difficulty although it violated the law, disregarded case work principles, and was contrary to sound common sense. There was no social agency of any kind in the town where the father lived nor any state department that might be of assistance.

For cases of this sort, as well as for runaways and unmarried mothers, perhaps more than in the cases that primarily concern adults, the need is apparent for a nation-wide network of skilled social work, which will not be met by the assistance of volunteer co-operating representatives. In some states there is a state department of child welfare that will do case work in places where there is no local agency equipped to do good work; but in far too many places there is no such service available, and cases must be dropped just when they most need attention. Federal child welfare work that would supplement, not duplicate, existing agencies or departments, assist especially in interstate cases, or help state and local work to get started, would make America a better and safer place for children. The Child Welfare League of America and the United States Children's Bureau have each done much to raise standards in general and to help in certain communities, but what is needed is case work service which would leave no corner of the country entirely uncovered. This could scarcely be developed by any private agency, but it might grow out of the activities of the United States Children's Bureau.

More than 1,000 children traveling alone coming to the attention of Travelers Aid in each of twelve to sixteen cities each year, 3,000 to 4,000 each year in the city of Chicago alone, over 50,000 known each year to the Travelers Aid Societies, these are large figures. Experienced workers estimate that 75 per cent of these are unhappy children whose homes are broken or who are unwanted. In the cities, Travelers Aid workers themselves or case workers from some other agency can try to help them, but large numbers of these children are on their way to places where there are no social workers. Unless some national service is developed, who then will help them?

Travelers Aid itself, by advertising that children may travel safely in its care, may have increased child travel. While making known to parents, and especially to other social agencies, just how it can help if children must travel, it might well try to do something to decrease the travel of children. A divorce court judge who has sat in a Travelers Aid case committee is not likely to make orders regarding custody that will necessitate repeated journeys for a child. Travelers Aid has the responsibility of helping the public to understand what traveling alone may mean to a child.

In order better to understand the children traveling alone and to know exactly what problems they present and what service is being rendered, a special study is being carried on during 1931 by the acting director of the national association. Workers in every chartered agency are filling in a schedule regarding each child alone who comes to their attention and when these schedules arrive at the national office a careful check is made to combine all the schedules which may come in regarding one child from different cities so that in the final count it will be known exactly how many children are actually represented in the total for the year. This will of course be a number below the 50,000 usually quoted as the number aided, since there has been an unknown amount of overlapping in all national figures up to this time.

Some figures are, however, already available regarding the first 3,000 children who were traveling alone in 1931 and came to the attention of Travelers Aid workers.¹ There were 123 children under six years old, 1,466 between six and twelve, 1,241 between twelve and sixteen years old, and in 170 cases the information about age was not given. Only 85 children were foreign born, 416 were Negroes, and 21 were Indians. The children were traveling from one country to another in 127 cases, between different states in 1,754 cases, and between cities within one state in 1,114 cases. While most of the children traveled by train there were 245 who went by bus, 101 by steamship, 63 were "hitch-hiking," 45 were in private automobiles, 3 traveled by airplane, 2 on bicycles, and 1 on a ferry-boat. Among those who were physically disabled were 64 blind children, 121 deaf, 36 crippled, and 36 acutely ill, while in 31 cases there was a known mental disability.

Other figures are available regarding only the first 2,000 children traveling alone in 1931.² Of these children 430 were brought to the attention of the worker by a transportation official, 156 were referred from an institution, 61 were referred by a court, 71 by the police or another government official, 170 by other social agencies, 141 by parents, 231 by other relatives, 124 by other interested individuals, but in 123 cases the child himself asked for aid, and in 359 cases the worker approached a child she observed to be alone, while in 154 cases the source was not recorded.

¹Figures secured in national office in August, 1931.

²See "One Thousand Children Under 16 Traveling Alone," as reported in a study by societies now in progress (June 16, 1931), and "The Second Thousand Children" (July 13, 1931) (Mimeo-graphed).

Of the first 2,000 children there were 272 going to or from school, 1 going to or from a camp, and 748 who were on pleasure trips or visits, or about half the children who seemed to present no special social problem. However, there were 88 wards of a court, 200 wards of social agencies, 523 cases in which a broken home was the immediate reason for the journey, and 160 runaways. Among the runaways were 46 local children who were stopped, 39 returned to other cities, 60 who belonged in other cities, and 15 cases where only change-point service was required. Travel service only was given in some cases, but in 625 cases some definite social service had to be rendered directly by the Travelers Aid workers. Children's agencies co-operated in 282 cases, family agencies in 84 cases, and other social agencies in 276 cases. Other details regarding the service rendered, the forms of immediate relief required, the number of Travelers Aid Societies that co-operated on certain cases, the number of children who had been known to Travelers Aid workers on previous journeys, etc., will appear in the final report and since the study will cover a whole year, the curious differences in problems at different times of the year will appear.

This study will constitute a valuable contribution to the whole subject of child welfare as well as help in the substitution of exact facts for vague generalizations or slipshod collections of figures. This is a type of aid in co-ordinating the work of local agencies which the national association should be expected to render.

One group of these children alone, the runaways, will be next considered.

CHAPTER IV

RUNAWAYS

While the term "runaway" to the Travelers Aid worker does not include old people running away from grandchildren who have mistreated or shocked them, nor the wives who are leaving their husbands, nor fathers deserting their children, it includes a wider group than the habitual and repeated offenders that the juvenile courts label runaways, for any young person leaving his home without the knowledge and consent of his parent or guardian, even though it be for the first time, is considered a "runaway" by Travelers Aid workers. Indeed it is these children who are just starting out on their first runaway expedition and have as yet come to the attention of no other agency, that Travelers Aid workers are most happy to find. Prevention is easier and more satisfactory than cure, but it requires real skill to determine just how deeply the roots of a budding delinquency may extend and to be quite sure they all have been located and uprooted instead of pushed down deeper to crop out later in the same or another place.

Over 5,000 runaways come to the attention of Travelers Aid workers each year. Philadelphia, New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago each care for from two to four hundred runaways each year and over a dozen cities have more than a hundred a year to tax the case work ability of every Travelers Aid worker, while no place is too small to have its proportion of these children. Everyone interested in the problem of juvenile delinquency remarks on the number of runaways. Of the 1,000 young "repeated offenders" discussed by Dr. William Healy¹ in his book, 337 or 34 per cent were runaways. In a later study of 2,000 juvenile delinquents in Chicago and of 2,000 in Boston, about 40 per cent of the whole number were runaways.² Juvenile Court statistics show 6 to 7 per cent of the boys and 15 to 19 per cent of the girls come before the court charged with being runaways, or about 2,000 boys and 900 girls a

¹William Healy, The Individual Delinquent (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1915).

²William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), pp. 171-174.

year,¹ and of course many of the children before the court on more serious charges are also runaways. A study now being made of detention homes in the United States shows that about 16 per cent of the boys and 9 per cent of the girls placed in such homes are charged only with being runaways.² In one city, Los Angeles, from 10 to 15 missing children, most of whom are runaways, are reported to the Juvenile Bureau of the Crime Prevention Bureau each day. In spite of child guidance clinics, vocational guidance bureaus, parental education, and all the other attempts to aid children, the number of runaway children does not seem to be decreasing, for it is becoming easier to travel long distances in a short time and if all the world travels, the child who wishes to leave home can find a way to travel too. The experience of Travelers Aid workers with this problem may help others who think of it as only one complicating factor in a general pattern of delinquency.

Probably everyone at some time, when life seemed too hard to face, when a parent or teacher was unfair, or when the dull round of monotonous living made one long for adventure, when one felt with Walt Whitman, "What will satisfy the soul except to walk free and own no superior?" has either run away or seriously considered doing so. Wise indeed is the parent who, when a child threatens to run away, reminds him that his traveling bag is in the attic and asks him please to close the door as he goes out. It is the children who have been locked in their rooms or chained to a bedpost to prevent their leaving home that Travelers Aid workers often find in the stations many miles from home with many hard experiences already behind them, and a real hatred of home in their hearts.

The early Travelers Aid workers thought that they were giving adequate service when they discovered young runaways and sent them home and doubtless in some cases that was sufficient. Two little boys playing Indian whose adventurous spirits carry them many miles from home, a couple of five-year-old elopers with a doll and several sticks of candy starting out to set up a new home somewhere, other children whose imaginary play-world makes

¹Seventeenth Annual Report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, for Year Ending June 30, 1929, p. 27.

²By H. A. Dobbs and F. M. Warner of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration. Figures from nineteen cities showed 599 boys and 150 girls who were recorded as runaways. If there was a more serious charge, such as stealing or sex delinquency, the fact that the child also was a runaway would not appear.

them forget their comfortable homes until they are tired and hungry, need only protection and help in getting home. Even when workers make it a rule to follow up each runaway who is not already known to some other agency they may get careless if the case looks simple.

Eleven-year-old Tommy, ragged, dirty, and forlorn was found crying in the Sante Fe Station. He wanted to go home to Minnesota. In the office Tommy told a detailed story about himself. He had left his poverty-stricken home where his father, a disabled veteran, eked out a scanty living in a little shoe repair shop, to come west in an auto with two other boys. They had abandoned him after reaching Los Angeles and he had earned enough by selling papers to buy occasional hot dogs and had slept in alleys for four months. Now he wanted to be sent home. A few wires back and forth to Minnesota gave us a clue to the real name and the father, a well-to-do, well known merchant of Los Angeles was located. Tommy had left his comfortable home in Los Angeles only the day before and no detail of his story was true. The father seemed such a substantial citizen and so well able to manage his family affairs that we released Tommy to him at once, when he told us that the child had never given any trouble at home, was unusually intelligent, and probably had wandered off seeking local color for some stories he was writing. We were busy with emergency work and weeks elapsed before a follow up visit was made. We found that Tommy had been in the detention home several days having been arrested for stealing an automobile. The true story from the parents was then forthcoming: repeated delinquencies, inability to control the child, or rather lack of understanding or interest on the part of the parents. The superior intelligence and the story writing of which the father had boasted were as much myths as were the fibs Tommy had told us. If we had taken time to investigate and do the intensive case work indicated when it had first come to us we might have prevented Tommy having a charge of grand larceny against him and being sent to the State School.¹ We learn by our mistakes, but they are costly to the client.

Several studies of runaways have been made by Travelers Aid workers. Of 150 girl runaways who were studied in 1920² it was found that most of them asked for some simple information such as where to get a room or a job and the worker, through skillful interviewing, had discovered the real trouble, but some of them who asked no help had been approached by a watchful worker, or railway officials or police had brought them to the attention of the worker. All but eleven had aliases, and one had four. The

¹G. E. Kimble, "The Runaway as a Social Problem," Journal of Applied Sociology, 9:122.

²Virginia Murray, "The Runaway and the Stranded Girl," National Conference of Social Work 1920, pp. 175-180. This included 100 cases in New York, 25 in San Francisco, 25 in Philadelphia.

ages ranged from ten to twenty-three. Four girls, Italian and Polish, were running away from marriages arranged by their parents. One fourteen-year-old girl had been attending school all day, going to bed at six, and arising at midnight to bake the bread which her father sold. Some misunderstanding at home with a father, a stepmother, an older child who always bossed, or in regard to another child who was always in the right, accounted for 62 girls. What child of spirit would not rebel as did Tom Sawyer when he was punished for the misdeed of Sydney? Seventeen of these girls were full orphans who were unhappy in foster homes. Four had escaped from state hospitals and 21 others who were examined were found to be defective mentally or to be constitutionally inferior, but unless some mental trouble was suspected there was no special examination. Eleven had a venereal disease. Eighteen had been married, and all but twelve had had some sex experience. Three were seeking the men responsible for their pregnancies. Fourteen hoped to enter motion pictures and two to go on the stage. The workers were impressed by the fact that many of them did not themselves understand why they had run away, the reason they gave being a rationalization from some deeper reason that only a thorough study could uncover. Most of the children who belonged in the cities where they were found were transferred to specialized children's agencies and the others were returned to their home communities where arrangements were made for further care.

In 1921 a study was made in Boston¹ of 103 boy and girl runaways. While 13 seemed to have started off for pure adventure, as in other studies it was clear that most of them were trying to better their condition, but only five came from what were obviously bad homes and only one had been beaten by the parent. The hours during which they came to the attention of the workers are interesting, for only 22 were found between 9:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M., the only hours when most social agencies are open, and it is not recorded how many of these were found on Sunday. Six were found before 9:00 A.M., 29 were located between 5:00 and 8:00 P.M., and it was late at night when 37 appeared.

Of 106 runaways who came to the attention of workers in Los Angeles in 1923 over one-half were under sixteen although some of these had come from as far away as Massachusetts and New York. Perhaps these children should have been stopped before they had gone so far, but if they have through tickets and tell a plausible

¹Olive M. Jaques, "A Study of Runaway Boys and Girls in the Boston Society," National Travelers Aid Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 5-8.

story, the worker who gets a glimpse of them at some change point can do little more than wire ahead to Travelers Aid at the destination, "GLADYS DEVERE CLAIMS SIXTEEN LOOKS FOURTEEN SHINY NEW SUITCASE ARRIVING GOLDEN STATE LIMITED FRIDAY ENROUTE GRANDMOTHER ADDRESS LOST SUSPECT RUNAWAY." Then the worker at the end of the line must be alert to pick out the child who now says she is Betty Bronson going to her Aunt on Main Street and to keep her in sight until the story of the hoped-for future career in Hollywood is told, the real name secured, and the hard reality faced.

A study of 88 boys who came to the attention of the Los Angeles Travelers Aid in 1927 and 1928¹ revealed the fact that 50 came from broken homes. Some were already experienced vagabonds.

Such was the case with fat, jolly, sixteen-year-old Glen who had first run away when he was nine. He had visited the principal cities in 38 states and had been to Florida three times, doing all his traveling by highway, expecting and receiving help and shelter wherever he went. Although his I.Q. was 100 he was failing in high school, for his travels interfered. A likeable, good natured boy, one might expect, if she did not know his family history, that he would adjust. Before he was born his mother divorced his father and shortly after his birth she remarried. It was while traveling to California when he was six that she died. Then he lived with his grandparents. The grandfather was shot and later died and Glen was in some way implicated. Soon the grandmother who was 62 married a man of 38. Glen said that he liked this man. He did not object to going home but certainly had no intention of staying there permanently.

Some of the boys knew how to keep out of trouble, would work when out of money, and, after seeing the country, return home of their own accord; but several of the boys had acquired venereal disease on their travels and 46 had spent some time in jail en route, usually as a lodger or a vagrant but seven for theft, one for forgery, and one as a moonshine-runner. Some of the boys were constitutional inferiors, defective mentally or unstable emotionally, not committable to any institution and yet not capable of adjusting to an ordinary environment, destined eventually to come to the attention of the police or of some social agency, boys who needed protection and yet resisted efforts made to help them. In another group were the smooth boys, sophisticated, politic, tellers of tales about brutal fathers, grey-haired old mothers, the sad life of an orphan, getting relief and disappearing before wires revealed their stories as false, the boys who knew social

¹Helen C. Dean, "The Adolescent Migratory Boy, A Study in Social Mobility," Master's thesis at the University of Southern California, 1929 (unpublished).

workers better than the social workers knew them. Such a boy makes use of the welfare agencies as he travels from coast to coast, securing recreation or a job if he wants it at a Young Men's Christian Association, a few days' work in a restaurant or at a filling station, a bed and food at a rescue mission or Salvation Army, or a night's shelter without a record against him in a hospitable jail and a bit of breakfast and some cash from the jailor in the morning if he is a good talker and has a pleasing personality. Then off he starts on the highway, getting a ride from a passing motorist in any direction he wishes to go. These boys have developed what might be called a technique of tramping and of making use of social agencies and of the public.

The goals of some boys had to do with a mythical Golden West while others hoped to find adventure in the city, but several were seeking some relative whose reputation had assumed romantic proportions. Many spoke of some definite goal although it was clear that they really were running away from something which meant emotional stress and strain or from an intolerable situation. In school, at work, or at home something had happened that they felt reflected on their honor or slighted their ego or seemed unjust. Runaways are serious problems to themselves as well as to the social workers and at fifteen a small incident may assume tremendous importance. Probably there is no despair so black as that of the young adolescent, and the mature social worker in her grey adult world should try to remember the vivid light and darkness that alternate in the life of youth. It is surprising how many adults seem to have had uniformly happy childhoods. Persons with such poor memories should not attempt to help runaways.

The young people are quite likely to take life and themselves seriously and it is the adults who teach them that running away is just a good game. The kindly police officers who bring little runaways into the police station and give them ice-cream or let them try to shoot a pistol or give them pennies before taking them home, make a repetition of the offense almost inevitable. A child may find that he can get attention by running away such as he has never had before and like the prodigal son receive a fine welcome when he gets home. The thoughtless way in which motorists will give a ride to any child, perhaps a ride of several hundred miles, is amazing. Some states have laws prohibiting giving rides to strange minors and such laws should be strengthened and enforced.¹ In many cases motorists offer to give a ride to a

¹In Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, New Jersey, New York, Minnesota, Oregon, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia it is

child who has not even asked for one, and after the child has amused them for some hours they leave him in some place far from home. He learns how easy it is to see the world and may continue his travels then or later.

The social worker who attempts to assist the runaway must learn how to get his true story. Forty years ago Homer Folks said:¹

The runaways are a peculiarly interesting and difficult class. It is an established custom among them to insist that they are orphans and homeless. To win their confidence and learn the true story of their wanderings is a task requiring the greatest delicacy and tact. Perhaps the necessity for painstaking study of each individual is nowhere more apparent than in dealing with this class.

How the Travelers Aid worker may proceed in a simple case is indicated in the following story from an agency where every station worker is also a case worker:²

When one of our station workers finds a probable runaway she brings her to our main office, for a noisy crowded railway station is not a good place for a confidential interview. Alone with her in a quiet room, every effort is made to get a friendly contact and to gain the child's confidence. We do not try to hurry the interview. We may talk of anything from swimming to babies but before long we have the child's version of the running away and the reasons leading up to it. There is always a reason, of course.

Janette, aged fifteen, asked the Travelers Aid worker in our interurban station to direct her to an employment agency. She was brought to the office where she became very defiant. She gave a name which we rightly suspected to be incorrect, but refused any address except that she lived in Long Beach, a city thirty miles away. After a time we succeeded in convincing her that she didn't have to go home but we would look out for her in the city if she really wanted to stay. Then she told us the trouble - she had just been told that she was an adopted child and that the persons with whom she had lived from babyhood were really not related to her at all. She felt that this explained their lack of understanding which she had noted since she started to high school. She had asked the person she had always considered her mother for the truth and

illegal to ask for a ride from a private motorist. Sometimes laws penalizing anyone who brings a dependent into a state have been used by social workers in seeking punishment for persons who brought children long distances.

¹Homer Folks, "The Care of Delinquent Children," Eighteenth Annual Conference of Charities, 1891, p. 143.

²G. E. Kimble, "The Runaway as a Social Problem," Journal of Applied Sociology, 9:113.

had been met with evasive replies: "What difference would it make? Haven't I always loved you?"

Our worker agreed with Janette that this was an insult to her intelligence as a high school freshman and that she should have had a direct answer. Travelers Aid explained how a copy of her birth certificate could be secured and the truth learned. Then we began to talk of plans for her to support herself. She realized that according to the California law she must attend school until she was eighteen, but if she was to be dependent on no one that would mean working all day and going to night school where there are no football teams or school spirit. That hit a sore spot - football heroes were near to Janette's heart and surely no school except the Long Beach High could be worth going to. Working all day didn't sound like much fun either. Then we talked about her mother and whether Janette ever worried if she arrived home and found her mother away and no message as to where she was; and how she would feel if days went by and the mother did not return.

At last we had the child in tears, begging us to send word to her mother that she was all right. The real name and address was given at last, but still she was not willing to go home until we found out about her parentage. We kept her in Los Angeles as long as she wanted to stay, but after two days, when investigations proved that the mother was her own and it was only a neighbor who thought she was having some fun who had told her she was an adopted child, Janette gladly went back to her home and school. The Long Beach Travelers Aid who had carried the word of the child's safety to the parents had a long talk with them and tried to make them understand. Now if either the mother or daughter sees trouble ahead again they will come to Travelers Aid.

Sometimes, although the home outwardly may be desirable, the skilled worker may find out why the child should not return to it.¹

What made a thirteen-year-old boy leave his clean, comfortable Christian foster home in a western city and seek sanctuary in Baltimore? He had admittedly been well-fed, well clothed and well housed, and being an orphan his lot might have been considered fortunate. The boy himself could remember when he had been close to starvation before he had been placed in this foster home. He was a highly intelligent, sensitive boy, and hated physical discomforts. Yet he ran away from this home which gave him a full share of these comforts.

Aided by psychiatrists, the Travelers Aid worker finally linked together a story which indicated "mental cruelty" as the chief cause for the departure from the foster home. The

¹Marie Judge, "How Do Travelers Behave and Why?" Paper read at Annual Meeting of National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, San Francisco, 1928. (Mimeographed)

boy had highly developed literary tendencies, and his books packed in his suitcase included English translations of the classics. As an accompaniment of this sensitive refined nature, he had a reverence in his makeup which for no particular reason centered around the memory of his mother. The foster parents had known the boy's mother, whose history had not been blameless, and they missed no opportunity of expressing what they considered proper Christian detestation for the ways and manners of the dead woman every time the boy mentioned her name. There came a day when he could stand the gaff no longer and he departed. The departure was complicated by the forging of the foster father's name to a check for \$100.00. The boy did not consider this stealing. He knew that his mother's estate, amounting to \$100.00 had been turned over to the foster parents, and he figured he was putting it to loyal uses when he took it to escape from an atmosphere which had become for him hideously tainted.

The boy was kept in Baltimore at the expense of the Travelers Aid for ten weeks while the case was studied. At the very start the foster parents demanded that the boy should be returned and placed in a reformatory until he was 21. Strange to say, the child caring agency which was handling the case in the city of residence, agreed at first with the foster parents. It took several weeks to convince this agency of the wisdom of the recommendations of Phipps Psychiatric Clinic at Johns Hopkins Hospital. That recommendation was: Re-education in an atmosphere which would neither coddle nor bully, but which would give consideration to the extreme sensitiveness of the boy's nature, and where his evident mental superiority would have proper outlet. Wisely parental adult supervision with an attitude of courtesy toward the boy, was the prescription. In spite of the foster parents' blind desire for revenge on the boy, things were finally worked out to a point where the boy was placed in a private school in the western state where he belonged. This school supplied most of the care recommended by Hopkins.

Very encouraging reports came right from the start. The teachers found the boy worth all their efforts, and the boy himself wrote that he was happier than he had ever been in his life. Just recently, after one year of treatment, we learn that he has been sent to make his home with a married brother from whom he had been separated for years. He is attending part-time school and is working the rest of the time. The report continues: "Wilbur has very good plans for the future and is conducting himself in an altogether satisfactory manner." This letter came from the head of the school who is retaining supervision of the boy in his brother's home.

In some cities, Travelers Aid workers do all the case work indicated on every runaway child; in other places, if the child is a local resident he is turned over at once or transferred, in Travelers Aid language, to a local children's agency and if he is from another place the Travelers Aid worker makes the investigation and preliminary diagnosis and then sends him home, transferring the case to some agency there. If the Travelers Aid worker keeps the

responsibility permanently or during the diagnostic period, often the case is referred to a local agency for some specialized service, medical, psychiatric, or custodial, but is not turned over or transferred.

Children arriving at night unmet by relative or friend and runaways often have to be cared for over night and in Los Angeles the Juvenile Police co-operate by taking the children to the Juvenile Hall nursery. There officers are in plain clothes and use ordinary cars and if the child is a girl it is always a woman officer who takes charge. Travelers Aid workers, by telephone, arrange for the reception of the children under the rule that in emergencies children can be admitted and kept there forty-eight hours without a petition being filed in the Juvenile Court. Juvenile Hall is a number of miles from any one of the railway stations, which the workers cannot, except in most exceptional circumstances, leave, anyhow, in the midst of the shift, so that this co-operation is a great help. Such smooth-running arrangements were not made, however, without some difficulties:

One evening nine-year-old, black Ladelphie arrived on a train from the east, tried to slip past the worker, and when stopped said he was just going to his mother, Mrs. White, on East Thirty-third Street. The Travelers Aid worker insisted on telephoning the mother but it was found no Mrs. White lived at the address given and no nine-year-old boy belonged there. From the conductor it was learned that he had boarded the train at a certain station in Texas. Ladelphie tried to wheedle the worker, but it was of no use. Soon a Juvenile officer was taking the child to Juvenile Hall. Now the arrangement was that in such a case the child should be registered as placed there by Travelers Aid and it was understood that a Travelers Aid worker would make the investigation and come to the Hall next day, but by some mistake this child was recorded as placed by the Juvenile officer. A wire to the police in the little Texas town where there was no social agency, brought the reply that a child of a name entirely different than White, but answering the description, had stolen money from under the mattress of his paralyzed grandmother and had asked some adult traveler to buy a half fare ticket "for his little boy" so as not to arouse suspicion on the part of the ticket agent. The grandmother and the mother, who was also there, were fit guardians and wanted the child at home but could not send transportation. The Travelers Aid worker, therefore, secured an order for transportation from the County and went to get Ladelphie. But Ladelphie was gone.

The clerk reported that the same officer who had brought him in, had just secured his release. When the officer was located he said he had understood this was just a lost child so he went back to talk to him and when the child said it was all a mistake and he just needed a nickle to pay his carfare so he could go home to his mother, Mrs. White on Thirtieth Street, the officer gave him a nickle and put him on a car going that way. The Travelers Aid worker was in a pretty bad position. A wire directly from the mother indicated her worry

and anxiety. When the head of the Juvenile Bureau heard what had happened, he offered to discharge the officer at once, but knew no way to locate the child. The Travelers Aid worker thought at once of the friendly newspapers. The most widely read Negro weekly paper was just going to press when the worker reached it, but the editor cut something else out to put in a story about Ladelphie and an appeal for information about him. A day later the editor telephoned that a woman reader had brought in a little boy who swore he was not Ladelphie and had never been in Texas, but the Travelers Aid worker might like to see him.

Fortunately the worker who had found him in the station was free to go, for Ladelphie had such a winning way that he could have convinced almost anyone else that he was not the child sought. With his nickle he had gone west as far as street cars could take him and then had hitch-hiked to Culver City, crawled under the strong fence around the lot and found his way somehow to the dressing room of the youngest Negro star. There he had hidden all day and then persuaded that successful actor to take him home. He had demonstrated his histrionic ability by telling of his orphaned condition and need of a home so that he was cared for over night and he had almost persuaded his new friend's mother to try to get him into a picture with her son when she saw the newspaper and promptly brought him in to the newspaper office.

As the train pulled out, he called to the worker, "You just wait, I'll be a star yet." A teacher was found in the home town to take a special interest in the child and to try to see that his intelligence and energy were directed into wholesome channels

Attempts to co-operate with the police in Los Angeles in time bore fruit. One morning in 1927 the head of the Juvenile Bureau of the Police Department sent for the General Secretary of the Travelers Aid Society. He had been troubled over his inability properly to follow up all the cases of missing children reported to the police. It was the custom for the Bureau to send out an officer to make an investigation, to attempt to find the children and to ask the parents to let them know if the children returned; but this the parents seldom did, and even though a postal card inquiry was sent asking if the child was at home or still missing, a reply was seldom obtained. The head of the Bureau said that he realized also that children at home again often need the help of a social worker. Therefore the Bureau would like the Travelers Aid workers to follow up all such cases.

This was a somewhat staggering request, but the society asked that for a trial period reports be sent in and it would be determined what could be done. The suggestion was made that other agencies might already know some of these children, but the police were sure that this could not be true. The reports began arriving at the rate of ten or fifteen a day. On clearing with the Social

Service Exchange it was found that two-thirds of the children were indeed already known to some agency. Then a meeting was called of the case work agencies interested in children and the following plan worked out. It was not thought wise to ask the police to clear cases even if they had been willing to do so. Therefore all cases were to be cleared through the Travelers Aid office and if known to a case work agency the police report was to be sent at once to that agency. Police forms for reporting missing persons were to be modified to include the item of religion, so that Jewish and Catholic children not previously registered could be referred to suitable agencies, non-Catholic and non-Jewish children under fourteen living inside the city limits to the Juvenile Protective Association, while the Travelers Aid workers took all the others, including most of the young people from fourteen to twenty-one and an occasional woman with a baby, together with all the county cases whose addresses were outside the city. The agencies took these cases not to try to find the missing persons, but to look into the home situations and do any case work necessary.

Most of the missing persons were at home again in a short time; and, in not a few cases, no case work was necessary. Sometimes the person was not even really missing, as when one parent had given a child permission to stay overnight with a friend and the other parent did not know that this had been done, and after the first frantic call to the police quite forgot to notify them that a mistake had been made. On the other hand, the agencies found many chances to be useful in places where the first little runaway expedition was an early symptom of some real trouble in the home.

The whole subject of detention is a knotty one for Travelers Aid workers as well as for others who deal with children. In New York and New Orleans and formerly in Chicago and in some other cities, the local Travelers Aid Society has maintained a guest-house or temporary shelter where the immigrant whose relatives have not been located, the old woman who has lost her son's address, the girl whose fiancé was not at the train, persons who lack funds or need protection, may stay overnight. Even if only adults or women with children are admitted the problems of sanitation, cleanliness, contagion, mental illness, etc., that arise in such a place make most Travelers Aid workers feel that it is better to arrange shelter through some outside specialized agency or even a commercial concern such as a hotel or rooming house that is equipped to furnish lodgings rather than to try thus to add to the already varied work of the Travelers Aid Society. To care for children alone in a Travelers Aid guest-house has proved even more

difficult and is not attempted at present.

But children traveling alone who are not met and whose relatives cannot be located for a day or two, and especially the runaways, must be cared for somehow. Cities that boast of using boarding homes instead of a detention home, or that only delinquents are admitted to a detention home after a preliminary court hearing, seem quite to overlook the fact that in any city there are always a certain number of temporarily homeless children and that these must be taken to jail if there is no other place. A child who comes in on a midnight train must stay somewhere until a physical examination or some kind of a court hearing can be arranged. Subsidized boarding homes that will take a child from a probation officer at any hour are likely to be scattered in different parts of the city and a Travelers Aid worker or a policeman cannot locate a probation officer and a home with a vacancy in the middle of the night or on Sunday. It should be understood by everyone interested in children that where there is no public detention home or a private institution that can be used for this purpose, the jail is used.

The care of older boys especially presents problems. The way in which Los Angeles solved this problem may be of interest.¹ For temporary care girls up to twenty-one and boys under sixteen could be placed in Juvenile Hall for as long as forty-eight hours without a petition being filed in the Juvenile Court. Complete physical examinations were given to each person entered there and on request of the Travelers Aid worker, accompanied by as much social psychiatric history as could be given after an often brief contact and a telegraphic investigation, the competent court psychologist would give a psychometric examination. For children in whose cases petitions were filed, this examination was a routine matter. The hospital in the Hall provided any necessary care. Children sent in by the Travelers Aid worker were cared for in the nursery usually, that is, in a section separated from that in which the children known to be delinquent were kept. The large playground, the special school, the attitude of the superintendent who had been a member of the original Travelers Aid Society staff, all helped to prevent the experience from being anything like detention in a jail, although there were times when children learned from chance roommates things they should not have learned. Quite possibly

¹Annual Reports of Community Boys' Lodge, 1928, 1929, 1930. Also Helen C. Dean, op. cit. (a study of eighty-eight boys who were clients of Travelers Aid Society and of Community Boys' Lodge).

other dependent children in the Hall learned too much from some of the sophisticated little runaways sent there. Contamination of a child in detention comes not only from adults, as in a jail, but often from other children. Solitary confinement, however, is often terrifying to a child and certainly not wholesome. Travelers Aid workers have been glad to have a good detention home but have tried to have the period of detention as brief as possible. Certain girls' clubs provided care for older girls so that few of them had to be sent to the Hall. Occasionally a boy over sixteen, if he was clean and of the college boy type, could be cared for at the Young Men's Christian Association, or the Junipera Serra Club could take in a Catholic lad, and the Midnight Mission welcomed anyone. The Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America, the Christian Mission and Industrial Association, and the International Brotherhood Welfare Association agreed with Travelers Aid workers that their shelters and hotels were not proper places for young boys. Juvenile Hall was neither equipped nor staffed to care for the older boys, although Juvenile Court age limit is twenty-one, and in spite of the law prohibiting the placing of any child under sixteen in jail, and of the fact that Los Angeles has one of the worst city jails in the country and the branch jails are not models, the police used the jails constantly to house boy vagabonds and any boys found begging or loitering on the streets or in the parks at night who could not prove that they had jobs. Travelers Aid workers, however, absolutely refused to send any boy to jail for detention.

In 1925, a Travelers Aid worker found two boys from Denver. They had not meant to run away but a man on the road had offered to give them a ride and had brought them all the way to California and then left them. They were sixteen and seventeen years old but as little and weak physically and as inexperienced as twelve-year-old children usually are. However, according to the rule, they could not be placed in Juvenile Hall. A conference was therefore held in the probation office and they were taken by a probation officer for temporary placement until their transportation could be secured, to the Church Federation. Before the Travelers Aid worker realized what had happened, the boys were missing and it turned out that the Church Federation worker, with the knowledge and consent of the probation officers, had taken the boys to the city limits, given them a dollar, and told them to go home. The Travelers Aid board therefore sent protests to the agencies concerned, and letters to the Rotary Club, the School of Social Welfare, the Community Welfare Federation, the Young Men's Christian Association, etc., asking if something could not be done to provide temporary care for such boys until they could be sent home.

or adjusted in Los Angeles.

The Travelers Aid Society likewise called to the attention of different social and civic groups this great lack in the community and secured the co-operation of other agencies. A new agency could not hope to obtain support from the Chest until it had been in existence a year and had demonstrated good work. How then might social work ever spread to cover unmet needs? A Homeless Boys Committee made up of representatives of various agencies interested in the problem worked out a plan which showed how great they felt the need, for none received as much money from the Chest as seemed necessary to carry on the regular work. However, each agency asked the Chest for an additional sum of \$1,500 to be used in caring for boys, and agreed to manage on their old budgets, explaining to the Chest that they intended to delegate some of their boy's work under a new plan. As a matter of fact, Chest budgets were cut, but the agencies kept their agreement regarding the boys. The Christian Mission and Industrial Association at a low rental provided quarters, consisting of thirty single rooms little larger than cubicles, a dining room and kitchen, showers, a small hallway for a recreation room, and an office and sleeping room for a director. The Bureau of Catholic Charities, the Jewish Federation, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Salvation Army, the Juvenile Protective Association, and the Travelers Aid Society each agreed to give \$50.00 a month toward the project if sufficient funds could not be raised elsewhere. The Rotary Club Boy's Committee and individual board members gave some financial aid and in July 1927 the Community Boy's Lodge opened its doors to homeless boys between sixteen and twenty. A member of the Juvenile Protective Association staff was chosen director. He was a case worker, still under thirty, who had himself, while in his teens, knocked around the world from New York and Paris to Yokahoma, and understood boys and their emotional problems as well as the environment in which the wandering boy finds himself. An executive case committee, made up, not of lay board members, but of experienced social workers, met regularly each week at the Lodge. A lay committee advised by representatives of the Salvation Army and Volunteers of America formed a house committee. Travelers Aid workers did all the case work except in the cases of Jewish and Catholic boys.

Later the Lodge staff was able to do its own case work. Relations with the police were most happy. All officers were given instructions to take any boy picked up, who was under twenty, to the Lodge instead of to jail unless he was being arrested for some actual offense, and to direct boys there who wanted a lodging. The city doctors who examined all prisoners in the jail,

who happened to be young, intelligent doctors getting experience that way, were glad to stop at the Lodge each morning to give physical examinations and to arrange for boys needing care to go to the General Hospital or to city clinics. The Lodge was not really a place of detention at all; that is, there were no locks except the ones the boys had on the doors of the rooms to which they were assigned and to which they had individual keys. They could leave whenever they wanted. They could be as rough and noisy as college freshmen and, somewhat as upper classmen in a fraternity house exact obedience to necessary rules and prevent foul play, so the young director managed to secure their respect and confidence. Although many were there for periods of only one or two nights, until arrangements could be made for them to go home or go out to a job at which they could earn their way, the place came to have a spirit of its own, a young and masculine spirit. Boys who told fictitious stories of their lives and adventures the first day, came to see the director or case worker the next day to tell the truth. Boys brought other boys and, with some exceptions, co-operated in carrying out plans made after reports had been received from Travelers Aid workers in other cities regarding interviews with parents, teachers, or employers. Each case was a different problem and arrangements for mental tests or for psychiatric examinations were made when it seemed necessary before deciding whether the boy should go immediately back to school or work to earn his own way home. Boys who could do so were expected to pay for their room and board and the others were to pay back the money later when they were able.

After a while the Lodge was moved into better quarters in a better neighborhood. There forty boys could be accommodated at once. The Young Men's Christian Association opened its swimming pool and gymnasium to boys with the special tickets from the Lodge. In November, 1928 the Community Boys' Lodge became an independent organization, but it has remained a constant co-operator of the Travelers Aid Society, which can now transfer many cases to it.¹

¹From July, 1927 until July, 1930, 1,226 different boys were cared for at the Lodge, of whom all received physical examinations and 634 had supplementary examination and treatment. Ten who were physically or mentally handicapped were sent home with the full fare paid by the county, while 209 went home on charity rate, half fare tickets for which they earned the money or relatives paid. Friends or relatives in the city were located for 119, positions were secured for 759, psychological examinations were given 67 boys, psychiatric examinations arranged for 22, and

Thus in each community, Travelers Aid workers may point out the needs and help to fill in the gaps found in the social work organization. They can work for better laws and better practice in regard to detention homes; but their greatest contribution can come through learning more of the causes leading to running away and the best methods of prevention and cure. A child of five who has run away twenty times and who is taking his three-year-old sister on his latest expeditions may prove a baffling problem to the whole staff of a child guidance clinic. Can the Travelers Aid worker who discovers the child actually in the act of walking along the alluring railway tracks find the clue? Is the worker who stands by while a boy who has come many miles to a race track spends every cent of his money trying to prove that he has a perfect system of picking the winning horse, really helping to effect a cure¹ when merely sending a child home would have no permanent effect? Will it be learned that the many children who reach Hollywood should have the experience of finding that in that community no one is hired on any individual lot and that the Central Casting Bureau will not list a newcomer even as an extra? Can Travelers Aid workers learn how to let some of these children learn by experience and yet protect them from the dangers that line the way?

permanent housing in the city arranged for 198 who became self-supporting and stayed in the city. The average age of the boys was 17 years, the average stay 17 1/2 days. The per capita cost per day including overhead for case work, etc., was \$1.89. A large share of the cost was paid by the boys from earnings. The unemployment crisis has made it more difficult to get support from this source. In 1930 the City Council appropriated \$400 a month for three months (see Third Annual Report). In 1931 the City Council has voted to give \$400 a month for five months. (Report received from Alida Bowler, Vice-President, Board of Directors of the Lodge.)

¹Marie C. Judge, "Foregrounds and Backgrounds," The Family, January, 1931.

CHAPTER V

DEPENDENT NON-RESIDENTS

Although Travelers Aid Societies are not relief agencies, many people in need of relief whose troubles are complicated by the fact that there is doubt as to where they legally belong come to the attention of Travelers Aid workers. In 1930 there were 18,258 cases of this sort that required considerable case work care from Travelers Aid organizations. Sometimes it was necessary to look after a family or individual for a day or two only while an investigation was under way to determine where the responsibility for support might lie, when the case could be transferred to an agency in the same or another city that could make permanent plans perhaps for a pension or for institutional care. In other cases, due to the difficulty of establishing a legal residence, the Travelers Aid worker found it necessary to keep in touch with a family indefinitely, arranging for aid from some source or helping the family to become self-supporting.

A child found begging in a station was approached by the Travelers Aid worker. A home visit revealed the need for many sorts of help. The father was out of work and not strong, the mother epileptic, tubercular, and pregnant; one child was crippled; another, seriously under-nourished, and a third suffering from heart disease. To have transferred this case to a family agency after the first investigation would have been the usual procedure, but it so happened that the family had been only two months in the city and state, the mother had been born in England but had lived for the last ten years in Canada in several different provinces, while the father, to whom it was not certain she was married and who was known not to be the father of the oldest child, had been born in a distant part of the United States, but had lived fifteen years in Canada, although he had never given up his original citizenship. The only family agency available, a public department, refused to assume the support of the family, knowing that it would mean many thousands of dollars for years to come to give adequate care, and thinking that local relief funds could be given lawfully only to those who had lived at least a year in the community. The agency was willing to pay transportation for this family to the community responsible for the family if the fact of liability could be determined. It was suggested that they be sent to the

nearest Canadian border and left. Certainly, however, Canada would not welcome dependent Americans and the state which the father had left so long before would not be likely to accept for care a family of six. Through many months of intensive case work, aided by health agencies which did not draw tight lines of residence and by a little private relief, Travelers Aid workers helped this family to become self-supporting and to stay in the community to which they had been attracted by community advertising.

Sometimes the dependent transient has so often been "passed on" that it is difficult to help him get anchored. A pale young woman asked in the station for advice about employment. That she needed food and medical care at once was only too apparent. It was found that she had been born abroad but brought to America as an infant. Both of her parents had died, and she was adopted by American friends and given a good musical education. Before she was out of her teens, however, both of her foster parents died, leaving her doubly orphaned. She secured work as an organist in motion picture theatres and began to travel for her health, earning her way as she went along when she was well enough. In spite of lack of legal residence, she had been cared for in hospitals and tuberculosis sanitarium in eastern and southern states. She appealed to the lodge to which her foster father had belonged to pay her way West because of her condition, and without determining whether or not she had sufficient resources there it gave her two hundred dollars. Once in the West, too ill to work and quite friendless, she was in desperate need of help. But where did she belong? Her story was found to be true in every detail. All of her life she had been traveling, for even the foster parents had moved about. In one state she had lived over a year, but in that state settlement required a previous residence of three years. The Travelers Aid worker was able to secure sanitarium care for her only by persuading an agency to alter its usual practice, and also persuading the unthinking but good hearted lodge members in the East to pay the bills; and, after she was well enough to work again, tried to help her make friends. But wanderlust had too strong a hold on her, and even while a psychiatrist was attempting to help her become adjusted, she disappeared. A cable from Travelers Aid in Honolulu asking for help in determining her legal residence showed that she was still traveling and still facing the old questions, "But where do you belong? You must belong somewhere."

Public and private agencies limit their intake in various ways, the former because they are created and must operate under definite statutes or ordinances and the latter because they cannot help all the world and must draw a line somewhere. With both groups of agencies it is usual to limit their aid to those who they think belong in a community. Whether support comes through local taxes or through a local community chest, even if there is no ordinance or rule that only residents should be helped, the over-burdened agency is quite likely to feel justified in thinking that it has done as much as could be expected if it adequately cares for its

own poor, since everyone knows that charity begins at home. "Bear ye one another's burdens" seems far from practical, but while the private agency can experiment in this field, feeling that the burden of one is indeed the burden of all, and better ways of equalizing the load than have been usual in the past are necessary, the public agency, until the law itself is changed, must keep its work within the fixed limits. The law in time reflects public opinion and in western states where most of the people are newcomers, there is much less rigidity than in the longer settled East.¹ For the private agency to take advantage of its freedom by assisting newcomers until they are eligible for public care is of course most unfair not only to the public agency, but to the tax-payers who also support it and the persons who have made the law as it is. Sometimes the private agency forgets its responsibility in this respect. However, if the private agency, because it has flexibility, can give the bit of temporary relief that will help a family to become self-supporting, can cut across some of the official red tape of a complicated situation, can point the way on toward the need of more humane and wise laws, its work forms a wholesome supplement to that of the public authority.

If a person is injured on the railroad, special officers of the railroad rush that person into an excellent railway hospital or the nearest private hospital where the railway pays the bill. If a person becomes seriously ill on the train, railway employees give what emergency aid they can until the first town is reached where proper medical care is available and there the patient is taken from the train. Obviously the railways cannot and should not meet the cost of all such cases. Fortunately many travelers can pay their own bills and need only service. Many persons taken ill, however, have no money with them nor friends who can be easily reached; some are entirely without resources and others are too ill to give information about themselves. Local public hospitals often have no welcome for such newcomers. In a few places, as in the Union Station at Kansas City, there is an emergency hospital in the station; in other places there is a cot on which a sick person may lie while arrangements are being made to send him somewhere; but persons have died while the various local public agencies insisted that it was not their business to take in sick strangers. In every city Travelers Aid workers have had to work out this problem, developing smooth working arrange-

¹However, in 1931 California made its law more severe in this respect by increasing the period necessary to establish legal residence from 1 year to 3 years. Laws, 1931, Chap. 110, p. 146.

ments with heads of city and county departments and with the lower officials and workers, such as the drivers of police ambulances, on whose speed the saving of a life may depend. In many places, to supplement inadequate public care, they have made arrangements with private doctors and hospitals to do some charity service or to charge less than their usual fees for service.

Why should the community with its own heavy burdens have to look out for all the strangers too? But Travelers Aid exists for these people who do not belong. If someone else will take over the responsibility they are glad to transfer a case; if local hospitals refuse care to newcomers who are ill they will persuade and if necessary try to force through community pressure the care of emergency cases; if public agencies will not help they turn to private ones, even helping to develop new ones if there are community lacks, but the one thing they cannot do is to say to the sick or hungry and homeless newcomer, "You do not belong here, so we can do nothing for you."

Since Travelers Aid Societies deal constantly with clients actually in transit, persons who have just arrived in town, or those who are about to leave for another place, the problem of determining where people may be said to belong has a particular interest. As "belonging" here means generally the right to assistance, it becomes the problem of settlement. Settlement is the right in a particular place to be given relief from public funds. Like the popular definition of home, the place of settlement is the place "where, when you go there, they have to take you in and feed you." Ordinarily the wife takes the settlement of her husband, and the legitimate child belongs where its father belongs. A person usually has his settlement where he has resided for a period of time fixed by the statute.

The disadvantages of the settlement laws have been described frequently.¹ However, the category persists in the statutes and it has seemed worthwhile to summarize the facts in regard to the length of residence required to establish settlement in the various states. Eleven require less than a year; twenty, a year; four require three years; three require five years; one requires seven years; one, ten years; in thirteen either the period is not specified or is uncertain.

But the conditions in the states differ even more than the residence requirements alone indicate; for there may be provision that one must own some small property, have paid a poll tax, have gotten along without relief for a certain time, etc. In most of

¹See Chapter II.

the states non-residents may legally receive only emergency relief. Some states remove or deport non-settled paupers and a large number send institutional inmates to the places where they are believed to belong; but from state to state the law and the practice vary,¹ and Travelers Aid workers must secure private assistance or work within the limits of the local practice.

While a uniform settlement law is still being advocated² by many social workers, a sociologist has questioned whether it is not more modern and scientific to quite do away with all idea of settlement, letting the burden of relief be borne by the state or allowing the places to which the poor go, probably the most prosperous places, to carry the load.³ While state aid may be desirable, the latter suggestion is not one to meet favor with the practical workers. In the nineties Colorado and the other health resort states were staggering under the burden of caring for the sick poor who were sent out from the East, but in the East it was said that the sturdy and efficient went West, leaving the defective and helpless members of their families to be cared for at public expense. The West asked that the East help in the support of their new dependents, while the East felt that the West should, on the other hand, send money back to them.⁴ Only national aid for transients would cover these differences, but this was not suggested at the time. Later, private national agencies were to assume the support of the two Jewish tuberculosis hospitals in Denver and the one near Los Angeles, but the problem of caring for the families of patients who followed them West and of dissatisfied

¹See Charlotte C. Donnell, "Laws Regarding Settlement in Connection with the Problem of Inter-state Relationships Under a Federal System," Social Service Review, IV (September, 1930), 427; and Carl A. Heisterman, Memorandum on State Statutory Provisions Relating to Legal Settlement for Purposes of Obtaining Poor Relief and to the Local Financial Responsibility for Such Relief With List of Legal References. United States Children's Bureau (April, 1930). In 1931 California and North Carolina each increased the time to establish settlement from one to three years.

²Report of Sub-Committee on Interstate Problems of Child Welfare, White House Conference, 1930.

³J. L. Gillin, "The Need for a Uniform Settlement Law," National Conference of Social Work (1926), pp. 539-545.

⁴Samuel A. Eliot, "The Migration of Invalids," National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1892, pp. 90-93; H. H. Hart, "Interstate Migration," National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1895, pp. 248-255.

patients who would not stay in the hospitals has led to much difficulty with local agencies. Both state and federal aid to tuberculosis hospitals that meet certain requirements are steps forward.

First in Massachusetts, and later in four other states, state bureaus or departments to care for the dependents who had no legal settlement in any town or county, developed so that the poor who before might be sent on from one district to another, now had a right to some consideration, even if it were only support in a state almshouse or transportation at state expense to some other state where a right to permanent support might have been established. In six states there is some state department definitely responsible for returning non-resident inmates of state institutions to their legal residence.¹ Since patients committed to state hospitals are usually under a state department, such a department can and often does arrange with the similar department in another state for a non-resident to be transferred to the proper institution in the state where he belongs. To the Travelers Aid worker this means that arrest, observation, court hearing, commitment, transportation to a state hospital often in another city, all must precede the sending of a mentally disturbed person to his home.² Thus in California the State Lunacy Commission is not only authorized by law to return non-resident patients in state hospitals to the states where they belong after making definite arrangements with a state authority there, but also to give written consent to other state authorities for the return to California of any of its residents who may be committed or admitted to an institution elsewhere. Minors committed or admitted to any of the three state schools for delinquents may likewise be returned, but if either parent is a resident of California the child is considered also a California resident. The state pays for sending a person elsewhere, but expects the other state to pay the expense of returning any resident to California.³

It is rather unusual for the state to pay transportation for those who are only dependent, except in the five states where there is a body to care for the "state poor." However, in California where the support of orphans, whether in institutions or with their own mothers, has always been considered a state responsibility, if it is decided that a child coming under this law, that is, any orphan, half orphan, abandoned child, or child of an

¹Donnell, op. cit.

²Ibid.

³California Pol. Code #2191. Statutes 1903, p. 510; as amended 1905, p. 228; 1921, p. 1338; 1923, p. 160.

incapacitated father, suffering from tuberculosis or other disease which makes it impossible for him to support the family, and including by administrative rules the child of a parent in a state hospital or prison, might have a good home in another state, the cost of transportation is shared equally by the state and county.¹ This is especially helpful in the case of full orphans or children who are practically full orphans due to the incapacity of surviving parent, when there are grandparents or other relatives in distant states, able to provide a home but not able to pay out a large sum for transportation. Everyone benefits, and the state, instead of paying an institution or boarding mother some thousands of dollars over a period of years in state aid, pays perhaps a hundred dollars railway fare. That a thorough social study either by the State Department of Social Welfare or one that meets its approval made by a local agency, must precede the sending of any child under this plan and that the welfare of the child is the first consideration is, of course, understood, as is also the precaution that the child travels in care of Travelers Aid.

In 1931 the Association of Public Welfare Executives has made certain new recommendations which are of interest in this connection:²

Considering the subject of settlement law in relation to the interchange of dependents, the Committee has come to the conclusion that its effort should be directed toward securing uniform laws regarding the relief of dependents. In support of this contention, the Committee offers the argument that even if it were possible to obtain acceptance of a uniform settlement law in all the states, this accomplishment would be valueless if a state has no legal provision for the granting of out-door relief, or aid to an unsettled person or a person who has been absent from the state. The Committee has recommended:

1. That for inter-state relations, settlement as a basis of transfer or relief should be set aside and decisions in individual cases be based instead on the welfare of the clients and the proper responsibility of the states concerned, as determined by an agreement entered into by signatory. This agreement should cover (a) general principles; (b) procedure to be followed in individual cases; and (c) machinery for arbitrating disputed points.
2. That under "general principles" there should be included a

¹California Statutes 1925, p. 280; 1927, p. 732; 1929, ch. 528.

²Frank W. Goodhue, "Report of the Committee on Uniform Settlement Laws and the Transfer of Dependents," Social Service Review, 5:398-399.

proviso that transfers should not be made if the cause of dependency is temporary (such as unemployment or acute illness) unless it can be proven that the dependent is an undesirable person, or liable to become a permanent public charge or will need public assistance for a very long period. Three months is suggested as a reasonable period that should elapse before transfers should be generally made.

3. That the expenses of transfer should be borne by the authorities of the state making the transfer.
4. That states be urged to give authority by law to their public welfare officials to enter into such an agreement.
5. That local public welfare officials be forbidden by law to send dependents to other states, without the approval of the proper state officials of their state.
6. That each state be urged to enact a law accepting responsibility for the care of clients received from other states, provided the public welfare agencies of the receiving state shall have given their approval in each case, or shall have accepted general responsibility under an agreement with any other state.
7. That the Commission on Uniform State Laws be asked to recommend a uniform law or laws embodying the legislative enactments herein suggested.

Among the groups giving rise to difficulties of this kind, that is, lack of settlement, etc., is the homeless man. The unsettled condition of the country after the Civil War and the new railroads opening up vast new territory, the need for large numbers of harvest hands for a few months of the year, the age-old desire for adventure and the warm hospitality of the West, all have combined to encourage large numbers of men to become tramps. Staying as boarders in hospitable jails through the winter months or using these places for hotels as they traveled about the country (for the jailors were often paid according to the number of prisoners they housed), riding free on trains anywhere they wished, begging or stealing or receiving charity, they led an adventurous, even though precarious, existence, working little if at all. The social workers of the time helped to start wayfarers' lodges, wood-yards and city shelters where some work must be performed in return for food and shelter, and they insisted that the railways prevent such unlimited traveling. When it became clear that the tramps were costing the railroads a vast amount of money¹ from the damage they did and the injuries they received, for which the railroads

¹National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1907, pp. 73-74. Major Pangborn, in a Discussion of Vagrancy, said the cost of tramps to the railways was at least \$18,500,000 a year.

were held liable, the railroads developed the efficient railroad police,¹ the terror of the tramp and hobo. With new possibilities in hitch-hiking, however, the use of the railway as a means of transportation would have declined even if nothing had been done to stop such journeying. Repression of able-bodied vagrants as a class seemed the aim of poor law and private charity workers alike, but in the latter group some voices began early in the new century to be raised asking that each homeless man be treated as an individual in need of case work help.² As homeless men and boys began to come to the attention of Travelers Aid workers, it was this new case work approach that was used; and in the cities where the homeless of all sorts are by community agreement turned over to Travelers Aid workers, it is through studying the individual and the situation and by working out plans with the person concerned that an attempt is made to be of help.³

What should be done in regard to providing transportation for indigent persons long troubled the social workers of the country. In 1895 the heads of the charity organization societies of the larger middle western cities might agree that it was wrong to send the poor elsewhere in order to get rid of them; but all complained that other places did this, and if the particular wanderer did not belong in their community, most of them thought it not amiss to send him on in the direction in which he was traveling, beyond the boundary of their territory at least. A few thought that, unless the traveler was a poor deserted woman with children or a consumptive, in which cases it was more humane to send them on in the direction they wished to go, they should rather be sent back in the direction from which they had come. Only a few saw the

¹Orland F. Lewis, "Vagrancy in the United States," National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1907, pp. 52-69. From 1901 to 1905, 23,964 trespassers were killed and 25,236 injured on the railways. However, in 1931 it is reported by workers who deal with homeless men that great numbers are again riding on freight cars, the train crews being either sympathetic toward those who can secure no work or overwhelmed by the great numbers of unemployed. In some freight yards it is said the departure of freight cars is announced by train crews to groups of waiting men, as passenger cars are in the station. See G. E. Kimble, "Transient Families in the United States," Chapter VIII.

²Alice Willard Solenberger, One Thousand Homeless Men (New York Charities Publication Committee, 1911).

³See Chapter IX for special plans in Baltimore, Louisville, Washington, etc.

need for a careful investigation before giving any transportation or that transportation should be given all the way to the destination, if given at all.¹

Committees of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections worked at the problem year after year, but no definite stand was taken until 1902. At that time plans were presented from two outside sources. The first of these came from the mayor of St. Louis, a member of the board of the Mullanphy Emigrant Relief Fund² and therefore experienced in dealing with seekers of transportation. For over a year the Mullanphy Fund had been observing certain rules, with excellent results, and the mayor suggested that all agencies represented in the conference adopt these same rules, and he would be glad to help get the endorsement of the executives of other cities all over the country. The rules of St. Louis were as follows:³ 1. Transportation should not be given to an unworthy case. 2. If any transportation was given it was provided clear through to the destination. 3. No transportation should be given until a full investigation had shown that there was someone who could and would provide for the person or some definite means of support at the destination. It had been found that half the applicants told untrue stories and of this number half had been sent back to places where they belonged, while the others found someone, not connected with the city government or the Provident Association, who would send them on without checking on their stories.

The other plan presented at the 1902 conference was that which the Jewish agencies had been trying for two years. Troubles regarding transients had been one of the main reasons for organizing the National Conference of Jewish Charities in 1899 and at its first annual meeting in 1900 the following Transportation Rules were adopted and each of the agencies represented agreed to abide by them.⁴

1. A transient shall mean any person (including his family) who shall have become a charge upon the city where he may be,

¹H. H. Hart, op. cit., pp. 248-255.

²See Chapter II. This agency became the present Mullanphy Travelers Aid of St. Louis, one of the original group of agencies that started the National Travelers Aid Society.

³National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1902, pp. 386-387.

⁴First Jewish National Conference of Charities. See also Boris D. Bogen, Jewish Philanthropy (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917), pp. 62-63.

- within nine months of the time of his arrival in that city, unless he shall have become dependent through unavoidable accident.
2. A telegraphic code shall be used for the prompt and economical exchange of information regarding the transportation between constituent associations, and each association agrees and binds itself to reply to all inquiries submitted to it as soon as the necessary investigation can be made.
 3. No application for transportation shall be forwarded from one city to another, nor shall half rate tickets, paid for by the applicant, be furnished, without the advice and consent of the city of destination, but should the applicant be a transient within the meaning as above defined, he may be returned to the city where he last resided not as a transient, or to any other city where transportation shall have been furnished him, in neither case at the expense of the city to which he shall have been returned, provided that statement of residence shall have been verified.
 4. The initial city shall in all cases furnish transportation through to the city of destination. In the event of any violation of this rule, the receiving city shall, at its option, after investigation, transport the applicant to his destination or to the city from which he came, at the cost of the initial city.
 5. Any woman wishing to seek or desiring to join her husband shall not be assisted with transportation under any circumstances without the consent of the city where it is claimed the husband resides.
 6. Any violation or disputes or misunderstandings between constituent associations under these rules shall be referred to the executive committee, who shall investigate the same, and whose decision shall be final and binding.

That the aim of the rules was to save suffering, rather than to save money, was made clear in the discussion at the first Jewish Conference. The National Conference of Social Work, after hearing the St. Louis and Jewish plans, appointed a new committee to draw up similar rules to be printed and distributed and in the meantime suggested that everyone get copies of the St. Louis or Jewish rules and abide by them.¹ In 1904, the Committee on Charitable Transportation reported that 140 agencies had signed the rules and recommended that the committee should no longer be a part of the conference,² but this separation did not occur until 1920. In the meantime there were complaints that the conference

¹National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1902,
p. 388.

²Ibid., 1904, pp. 597-598.

did not give enough time to discussion of the problem of transportation and there seemed no way to cover the cost of printing and distributing the rules except uncertain voluntary contributions.¹ In 1911, the Charity Organization Department of the Russell Sage Foundation printed for free distribution a little booklet, Passing On As a Method of Charitable Relief, containing the Transportation Agreement and the Telegraphic Code.² Due to cheap rates on wires the code soon fell into disuse.

Meanwhile the Jewish group through rendering of decisions on disputed cases was further defining its stand.³ Legal residence and settlement did not seem so important to this group as what was best for the individual. A legally separate suburb they decided was a part of a city. A deserting husband could not acquire residence, according to the committee, away from his family, so that an agency had no right to send a family to a man who had not been supporting them, even though he might have lived more than a year in the second city and his legal residence and therefore that of his wife and children might be there. Jewish agencies all over the country recognized their responsibility for caring for some of the great numbers of helpless Jews who arrived at New York and approved the work of the Industrial Removal Office which assisted families to reach remote parts of the country where it was hoped they would be self-supporting, so it was decided that persons sent through this agency should be considered residents from the moment of their arrival, a decision which neither the law nor non-Jewish agencies could have made. Although the rules were held to bind every member agency of the Jewish Conference, the fact that the whole arrangement was in the nature of a gentleman's agreement and that there was no way of forcing one agency to pay another for expenses incurred because of a violation, was early recognized. With some minor changes, such as the substitution of one year for the nine months period as constituting residence, these rules still stand for the Jewish agencies that belong to their conference. Unfortunately many smaller agencies, and especially the shelters for transients, do not belong to the Conference and Jewish "passing on" has not ceased entirely. Before the war a Central Registration Bureau of the Conference was started and a large group of cit-

¹Ibid., 1904 and 1905, p. 581.

²Mary E. Richmond, "Cheerful Giver of Transportation," Survey, 26:28-30.

³Transportation Decisions, Jewish Charities, I to VII, especially I, 2:12; II, 6:6; IV, 2:1; V, 68-72; VI, 1:2; VII, 20, 247, 275.

ies in the Middle West and later also some in the East and the South began to register all their transient cases. That some individuals were registered from as many as eight cities indicates the amount of traveling by indigent persons that was still occurring. Unfortunately the war interfered, not with traveling of this sort or with "passing on," but with efforts to control both.¹ In March, 1930, this work was started again and about 1,000 were being registered a month in December, 1930, several in fifteen different cities.²

The National Conference of Social Work made a number of changes in the rules that had been copied from St. Louis and from the Jewish Conference. In 1920, about 800 agencies had signed the Transportation Agreement at some time. The responsibility in regard to this matter was turned over by the Conference to a new Committee on Transportation of the Allied National Organizations, these organizations being the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work (now the Family Welfare Association of America), the national Travelers Aid Society (now the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies) and the National Tuberculosis Association. In 1928 the Church Mission of Help also joined the group. It was found in 1920 that some of the organizations on the list of signers had long been out of existence and in others where there was new personnel or even a new name for an agency, no one in the agency knew that it was on the list or what the Transportation Agreement was. The new rules provide that the agreement must be signed each year. For some time the office of the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies has been the headquarters of the committee.

After repeated simplification and clarification, the Transportation Rules now read as follows:³

Before any transportation shall be provided, the agency considering it shall be satisfied by adequate and reliable evidence that:

1. The prospects of the applicant in opportunities for normal living are not decreased by sending him to the proposed destination.

¹Jewish Charities, VII, 131, 139, 193, 254; VIII, 90, 140, 226; X, 88, and Maurice B. Hexter, "Study of the Central Registration Bureau," National Conference of Jewish Charities, June, 1918.

²Jewish Social Service Quarterly, September, 1930, p. 56; December, 1930, pp. 27-29.

³See Signers of the Transportation Agreement in 1931.

2. The applicant

- a. Will have such resources for maintenance at the point of destination as will save him from becoming dependent on relief from an agency, public or private, or
 - b. Is a proper charge upon the agencies there, or
 - c. Has legal residence there.
3. Reasonable effort has been made to obtain from an appropriate agency at the proposed destination a report as to the facts included in Rules 1 and 2.
4. Provision has been made for the applicant through to the ultimate destination which has been determined by the sender.

Although it was early decided by the committee that public agencies signing the agreement were not obligated to act in conflict with settlement laws, it has been difficult to get those agencies to sign. While the number of public departments that had signed increased from 11 in 1925 to 43 in 1929, it must be remembered that there are almost 3,000 counties in the United States, a large share of which have some official who may give transportation to an indigent person. There are also numerous state and city agencies or departments that care for dependents. In Los Angeles the County Counsel has ruled that the County Charities cannot legally sign any such agreement although in the year ending June 31, 1931, in its Outdoor Relief Division alone, 4,328 transients were cared for, many of them applicants for transportation. However, without signing the agreement the department strives to obey the rules. It is in rural counties all over the country, where qualified social workers are not found, that public poor relief officers or county commissioners still think it only the economical thing to do to send poor applicants for relief who are newcomers on to the next county or across the state line.

Some of the cruelest passing on that now occurs has to do with the automobile migrants. Although the committee has ruled that the giving of gasoline or money to repair a car is included in what is meant by transportation, even agencies that know of the agreement feel comparatively helpless about making an investigation quickly enough to determine what should be done for a family that can somehow secure a few cents for gasoline and roll out of town before an answer can be received from another city. Public officials, especially in western states, help along many a wandering family in a cheap car. At times there have been some dozen of dilapidated cars full of women with babies and young children camped on the edge of the Colorado River, while the temperature was up to 120 degrees, because the county officials on the Arizona side of the river had given them only a little food

and gasoline to get across into California, while the county officials there gave them a similar ration and told them to go back to Arizona. After a half dozen trips back and forth across the burning sands of the desert, cars and individuals were unable to travel farther, until someone came along to tow them the many miles to a social agency or a hospital. It was not that the rural county officials were hard-hearted, but at their wits' end with the thousands of incompetent persons pouring in, sick and stranded and needing expensive relief. It did not occur to them that there was anything to do but to send them back or pass them on to the nearest place.¹

State Departments of Public Welfare could do much to make the Transportation Agreement known to public officials, but a national organization dealing with travelers and having co-operating representatives in many places also might carry on a regular campaign to make the officials who give poor relief in every county of the country acquainted with the provisions of the Agreement and might secure a large number of signers. Here is an opportunity for the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies to make a contribution to social work and welfare in America.

Every Travelers Aid Society must sign the Transportation Agreement each year or it cannot be chartered by the National Association. Before this requirement was made and before there were many professional social workers doing Travelers Aid work passing on unfortunately sometimes occurred because of the poor judgment of workers whose credulity and sympathy were similar to that of the well-intentioned lay people who still are glad to give a few dollars to the man who wishes to journey to his dying wife at once or the boy who can have an excellent position in another city if he can report for work tomorrow. The mistakes of other agencies and of individuals who have given transportation without investigation or determining what is best for a client are, however, so frequently brought to the attention of the worker in the station, that even without the Agreement she would learn to study a situation before sending someone on. Sometimes the Travelers Aid worker can persuade an agency not to send a family off so hurriedly, and at other times when it is clear that the Agreement is being violated, Travelers Aid workers, while unable to prevent the journey, have declined to give any travel service whatsoever, so as not to be a party to an action which was not for the good of the

¹See G. E. Kimble, "Transient Families in the United States," especially Chapters VIII and IX, for descriptions of practices in Arizona and Florida.

TABLE V
AGENCIES SIGNING THE TRANSPORTATION AGREEMENT
IN SPECIFIED YEARS*

Agency	1922	1925	1926	1927	1929	1930
Total.....	800	648	584	685	513	877
Family Welfare Agencies.....	480	324	301	320	...	363
Travelers Aid Societies.....	37	118	107	131	133	131
Tuberculosis Societies.....	150	96	79	78	...	61
Children's Organizations....	46	65	44	48	...	79
American Red Cross.....	...	8	...	15	...	21
Public Departments.....	...	11	15	28	43	32
Church Mission of Help.....	...	6	7	7	...	17
Jewish Organizations.....	118	...	...	4	...	15
Catholic Organizations.....	...	5	...	13	...	21
Salvation Army.....	11	2	...	5	...	14
Medical Societies.....	...	4	...	2	...	26
(Health Organizations other than Tuberculosis)						
Miscellaneous.....	...	9	31	34	...	97

*Information secured from the Secretary of the Committee on Transportation of the Allied National Agencies.

client. Of course, in co-operating with agencies that themselves are signers of the Agreement and competent case workers, travel service is given as a matter of course without Travelers Aid inquiring about the plans, other than to know who is supposed to be responsible at the destination so that the telegram to the Travelers Aid worker there may indicate to whom the traveler is to be discharged.

In this whole matter of the transportation of dependents the attitude of the railway officials themselves is important. For years the social workers had complained that there was too much liberality in granting passes and supplying charity half-rate tickets, so that after the Transportation Agreement was started some of the railway trunk lines made it a rule not to grant a charity rate to any agency that did not sign the Agreement. Later the railways themselves prepared a special form which agencies asking rates must fill in on every case, showing why the journey was made, who paid the half fare, who was responsible for the support of the traveler at the destination, and who guaranteed these facts to be true. Probably the widespread use of these charity rate certificates by the railroads has prevented more passing on than the Transportation Agreement itself. The railroads refuse the half-

fare rate if the fare is paid from public funds, on the ground that they pay taxes to help support these agencies, and usually centralize the granting of rates in one or two agencies in a city. Sometimes the Travelers Aid Society thus has charge of all charity rates given, and sometimes it makes requests through a family agency or a public organization. In some places the railroads have signified a wish to have Travelers Aid workers have exclusive charge of this because they work so closely with the railroads that it is easier to avoid misunderstanding with them than with other social workers. When some other arrangement is working satisfactorily Travelers Aid workers have not been anxious for any such change to be made. The railroads are careful not to become involved in violations of the laws of some localities that forbid bringing indigents into a state or county, and therefore require a signed statement from the agency that investigation has shown that the traveler is a legal charge at the destination, that someone has definitely promised to care for him, or that it is certain that he will be self-supporting there.

Travelers Aid workers, since they are interested in the people who move about, are interested in the adoption of a uniform settlement law in every state until the whole idea of settlement finally can be abandoned in some ideal future. Some state body to settle questions between towns and counties and to deal with other states, and some national bureau to whom interstate matters might be referred if necessary, should be required to give best results while settlement laws continue. These are governmental matters. However, in regard to the whole subject of passing on and the wider use of the Transportation Agreement the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies can and should be of more help in the future even than it has been in the past, not only by strictly observing the rules itself and co-operating with the railroads and the agencies that are truly interested in the welfare of travelers, but, by interpreting these rules to public and private agencies in every part of the country, cultivate a public opinion that will have an effectiveness greater than a law.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER TRAVELERS IN DISTRESS

The types of problems that present themselves to the Travelers Aid worker are many and varied and there is no need to present those well known to most social workers here. However, some problems appear to her from a different angle from that at which workers in other agencies see them because the action which complicates the situation is not already in the past but still in the present when she meets the client. How she meets the runaway while he is still in the midst of his exciting expedition has already been discussed.

In a similar way she comes in contact not only with the deserted wife or husband, just after the offending spouse has departed and while emotions of grief and despair or of anger are at a high pitch, but she often encounters the deserter who has just left responsibilities behind.

Mrs. Crary asked a station worker where she might find a good boarding home for her three-months-old infant and where was the nearest nurses' registry. At the office it took some skill to elicit her story. While working as a nurse in a large hospital she had met one of the ex-patients who had been given some light work to do in the garden. Almost at once they had married and moved to another state to be near his relatives. She had come from a home of culture and she soon found that his relatives were poor and ignorant, good natured but slovenly, content to live in dirty shacks and to bring a seemingly endless procession of children into the world to share their low standards. When her husband remodeled a chicken house into a home and when she found that he either was, or thought he was, physically unable to work, and that they must live on the charity of his relatives, she felt the situation intolerable. Because, however, she was already expecting a child, it seemed impossible to leave. When the baby was born she thought it resembled its father and she began to think that it would be subnormal as she by now believed her husband and all his people to be. She felt that she herself must have been insane when she married a man about whom she knew so little and for whom she now felt no affection. Before the first baby was two months old she discovered that she was again pregnant. The future which she now saw menacing her was more than she could face.

Leaving her baby in the care of a sister-in-law who had so many children that one more caused her no worry, she fled from the town and, under an assumed name, secured work in a hospital where she gave such satisfactory service that the

superintendent cared for her during her confinement some months later. Now she had come to the neighboring city because she knew it would there be possible to find a licensed boarding home for the baby and an opportunity to earn enough to pay for the best of care for him.

She professed no interest in her other child, but after both she and the baby had been satisfactorily placed for some days, she consented, if her location could be kept secret, that the worker visit her husband to see what had happened to the child. The worker journeyed to the town where the family lived and there indeed was the husband comfortably ensconced in the chicken house while a dirty but rosy little Billy crawled around in the dust with chickens, puppies and little cousins. Mr. Crary was overjoyed to hear that his wife was alive and well and surprised but delighted to learn that he had another son. He wanted to bring them home at once and it was evident that he had not the slightest understanding of why his wife had left. He had managed to injure himself slightly during the only week he had had work that year and he had spent most of his time since then trying to get compensation. He spoke of an unusual complication of ailments, most of which the doctors, to whom the worker directed him, declared to be non-existent.

After a time the worker persuaded Mrs. Crary just once to meet and talk with her husband, for it was evident he loved her very much, was devoted to the children, and might be able, through supplying much affection, to make up for his other lacks so that the family might be reunited. The interview, however, which Mrs. Crary had insisted must take place in a public square, was not a success. Although Mrs. Crary was told of the law which provided that if a parent made no attempt to see or to take care of a child for a year that child could be declared abandoned and she thus might lose all claim to her oldest son, she refused to see him even at the office when he was brought in to the city months later for a physical examination and for expert opinion as to his mental status, both of which seemed to be normal.

As she has advanced in her profession she has continued to provide for the second child, but the baby seems rather to prefer his father, who never pays for his board but does often bring him a cheap toy and who showers him with affection. Mrs. Crary says, "Perhaps I am an unnatural mother, but I do not care anything about that first child. Some women should never be mothers and I am one of them. However it is different about the baby. I feel that he really belongs to me."

More often the worker who finds a deserting mother discovers that she is nearly insane with anxiety about the child she has left behind. After standing all she could endure of her husband's beatings a little seventeen-year-old wife left her baby with a friend and fled from the city. Her husband's relatives obtained possession of the child, however, and there was no way in which she could get him back until a whole series of social adjustments had been steered by the case workers in two cities.

TABLE VI

PROBLEMS PRESENTED IN 693,839 CASES KNOWN TO
TRAVELERS AID WORKERS IN 1930*

Type of Problem	Number of Cases
Travel	
Lack of knowledge of city.....	257,427
Travel difficulty.....	175,860
Social	
Health	
Physical disability.....	37,205
Mental disability.....	2,721
Economic	
Lack of funds.....	39,552
Loss of money or ticket.....	3,610
Dependent non-resident.....	18,258
Other	
Adult with small children.....	40,201
Behavior problem.....	8,692
Children under 16 alone.....	49,625
Deportation.....	428
Failure to meet relatives or friends...	76,304
Illiteracy.....	2,229
Language difficulty.....	32,277
Marriage problem.....	1,581
Old age.....	25,178
Runaway.....	5,374
Unemployment.....	29,080
Unmarried mother.....	1,258
Unstable family situation.....	9,490

*"Annual Service Report for 1930," National Association
of Travelers Aid Societies. (Mimeographed)

Many of the deserters are like runaway children, finding independence not so pleasant as they had expected and glad enough to go home if someone can help them to swallow their pride and face the reception that may be awaiting them. Sometimes it takes considerable courage to return to shoulder responsibilities that are too heavy for one's strength or to an atmosphere far from pleasant. One man complained that he had been "hag ridden beyond endurance" for years, but he knew that his duty lay at home, and while a worker in one city kept in touch with him, a worker in another city tried to give his wife some insight into the situation as he saw it, so that when he did go home it would not be quite so intolerable to him.

Sometimes the deserter does not go alone, but elopes with someone whom he cannot marry, and if a state line is crossed the so-called Mann Act may be violated. Although the law was meant

TABLE VII
SERVICES RENDERED IN 693,839 CASES KNOWN TO
TRAVELERS AID WORKERS IN 1930

Type of Service	Number of Cases
Travel	
Advice and information only.....	235,916
Met by appointment.....	40,789
Placed en route.....	148,875
Other travel service.....	213,000
Social	
Health	
Medical advice or treatment secured.....	3,106
Mental examination.....	3,814
Economic	
Charity rate authorized or secured.....	5,900
Transportation from Travelers Aid funds.....	4,019
Transportation from other sources.....	5,563
Other relief from Travelers Aid funds...	18,697
Other relief from other sources.....	5,694
Loan of money.....	3,580
Other	
Connected with relatives or friends.....	85,320
Adjustment of family relationships.....	2,534
Lodgings secured.....	39,012
Employment secured.....	1,926
Legal aid secured.....	544
Marriage witnessed or verified.....	421
Runaways returned home.....	2,518
Co-operation with other agencies	
Cases referred.....	34,126
Cases transferred.....	42,403
Investigation for other agency.....	12,235
Service on request of other agency.....	41,545
Investigation for out-of-town agency....	9,770

"Annual Service Report for 1930."

primarily to prevent the selling of young girls into a life of prostitution, the law is so worded that if a middle-aged woman voluntarily crosses a state line and later lives as the wife of a man to whom she is not married, if that man has paid her transportation, they may find that a sentence to a federal penitentiary follows. Fortunately some of the officers charged with enforcing the law understand its spirit and, while leaving no stone unturned in bringing to justice the men and women actually engaged in the business of exploiting young girls, co-operate to the fullest extent with social workers when there is the possibility of rehabilitating a home or even of starting a new one.

When dirty, but much rouged, seventeen-year-old Lily,

TABLE VIII

SOURCE OF APPLICATION OF THE CASES KNOWN TO
TRAVELERS AID WORKERS IN 1930*

Source	Number	Per cent
Total.....	693,839	100.0
Transportation employee.....	43,138	6.2
Interested individual.....	47,293	6.7
Other Travelers Aid.....	38,925	5.4
Other social agency-local.....	18,747	2.7
Other social agency-out of town.....	5,546	0.8
Police or government official.....	15,205	2.0
Approached by worker.....	126,007	18.4
Personal application.....	336,750	48.8
Not reported.....	63,128	9.0

*From "Annual Service Report for 1930."

TABLE IX

PLACE OF FIRST CONTACT FOR CASES KNOWN TO
TRAVELERS AID WORKERS IN 1930*

Place of First Contact	Number	Per cent
Total.....	693,839	100.0
Railway station.....	529,970	76.3
Interurban station.....	19,055	2.8
Bus station.....	21,309	3.1
Dock.....	20,422	2.9
Office.....	34,203	5.0
Not stated.....	68,880	9.9

*From "Annual Service Report for 1930."

dressed in boy's clothes, came off the day coach at six o'clock one morning with an equally filthy young man in overalls, the worker approached to question them. When they stated they were married but could not remember the date, and when he insisted that her name was Rose, although she had already said it was Lily, and when one said that they had been in a car that had broken down in another state, while the other told an entirely different story, it was suggested that Lily accompany the worker to the office and that Tom remain with the station policeman until the marriage record office should open. At nine o'clock it was learned by telephone that there was a record of the marriage of Tom and Rose several months before. The officer apologized to Tom and released him so that he could go to the office for his wife, but by five o'clock in the evening

he had not appeared.

The girl was strangely undisturbed by the fact that he did not come and glad to spend the night at a girl's club. The next day the marriage record was read in detail and it was noted that Rose was of a different nationality from that of Lily. When questioned again, Lily told the truth. She and Tom had fallen in love a year before but they had quarreled and he had left the home town and come to this city where he had met Rose and married her a few days later. At once he had repented this rash step and soon he came back to her. It was agreed that he should get a divorce and marry her. They therefore started back to the city together, pretending that they already were married. Her mother, who was having much trouble with her second husband, had not objected.

In the juvenile detention home hospital it was found that Lily was diseased and pregnant. An officer from the Department of Justice co-operated with the workers in finding Tom, who was most anxious to marry Lily and assume the support of her and the child. There seemed no doubt that Lily and Tom were sincerely attached to each other, in spite of their lack of judgment. But there was Rose to be considered. However, she was found to be a self-supporting, self-sufficient young woman, who had bitterly repented her hasty marriage and who had found Tom a most unsatisfactory husband, and wanted to be free again.

Instead then of sending Tom to the penitentiary or Lily to the reformatory, the Department of Justice, the Juvenile Court and the Travelers Aid Society co-operated in a more constructive plan. The couple's own plan, that of securing a divorce, would have required two years. While the best of medical care helped to assure that a well baby would be born, a technicality was found making possible the annulment of the marriage of Tom and Rose, and Tom and Lily were married shortly before their son was born. Tom proved a devoted husband and father. The records in the Juvenile Court and in the Federal Court were soon marked "case dismissed," but the interest of the Travelers Aid worker continued.

Probably no one knows how many couples marry after an acquaintance that has been carried on only through correspondence. When a marriage has been arranged through a marriage broker acting for the relatives, as is the custom among some foreign groups, and where neither the man nor the girl is "Americanized" enough to object, there is no reason for Travelers Aid workers to interfere, for probably the most careful inquiries have been made in regard to both parties. However, the large commercial matrimonial agencies, which maintain offices in some of the largest cities but secure connections with persons in the most remote hamlets through the means of cheap magazines and other advertising, have no such interest in the individuals concerned. While some of these agencies are directly responsible for gross frauds and certainly could be prosecuted for misuse of the mails, others only open up the way

for fraud by individuals who through the agency secure names of romantic and gullible individuals. Several years ago Travelers Aid workers in several cities came to know one woman who traveled about the country always at the expense of prospective husbands to whom she wrote that she had run out of money before she had reached their towns and when they sent more money, promptly started in another direction. When a worker receives a telegram that a bride is to arrive, she often has time enough to discover that the man who has paid the fare already has a wife; and a Federal officer at the station when the train comes in, or even the threat that one will be called, is always sufficient to cause the man from some source to produce enough money to pay the fare to send the girl home. As a matter of fact, in many of these cases the man could not be arrested until he had actually married the girl, thus committing bigamy, or had actually lived with her, thus violating the Mann Act, but he usually does not know this, and the Travelers Aid worker does not give him a chance to commit a crime. Many desperately lonely people who in good faith have resorted to a matrimonial agency may be put in touch with a neighborhood club or a social center where they may make acquaintances in a more wholesome way.

When a Travelers Aid worker is asked the way to a maternity hospital or which street-car to take to the office of a doctor who is suspected of being an abortionist, and when she notes the absence of a wedding ring on the finger of a girl who appears to be pregnant, often she can learn through a few skillful questions that this probably is an expectant unmarried mother. In some cities she then need do nothing more than put the girl in touch with an agency which will give all the specialized care needed. However, in most cities, while she can secure good medical care, it is difficult to find an agency which will make a careful study of the situation, help the girl to keep the baby if she wishes to do so, and keep in touch with the girl in any case, not just for a few weeks, but for months or years while she is trying to establish herself again in an unsympathetic world. Often it is possible while the girl is in the city to arrange not only for the best of medical care but for a psychiatric study which may be indicated before the girl goes back to a smaller town where there may be a social worker to follow up the recommendations once they have been made.

Among the persons who come to the attention of Travelers Aid workers during the year are about 38,000 persons who need help because of some physical disability. For many of these only travel service is needed since responsible relatives or medical social workers are arranging for everything else that is needed, but some

cases are in the nature of emergencies and in others there is no one but the Travelers Aid worker available to help.

One group of cases are those resulting from confinement on the train. There seem to be no statistics available as to the number of babies born on trains, but one old Pullman porter on a western road says that he alone has helped to bring seven into the world when there was no doctor on the train. Recently the newspapers have reported the births of two babies in aeroplanes. Many young prospective mothers want to go home to their mothers for a first confinement and still do not want to leave their husbands and their new homes until the last minute. Then the excitement of the journey, the heat and jolting and fear, all often combined with faulty computation of time in the first place, bring on labor as the train speeds over a desert or climbs a mountain range, far from a hospital or from medical attention unless there happens to be a doctor on the train. Usually the conductor learns what is happening and he makes the best arrangements possible, moving the woman into a compartment and finding someone on the train who can help until a town in which there is a hospital is reached. It happens, however, sometimes that a poor woman in a day coach has a child there before any railway employee learns of it. In either case, as soon as the conductor has information, a wire or telephone message is sent to the Travelers Aid worker to have a doctor and an ambulance at the station. Later she must summon relatives if they are near or notify them if they are far away, transfer the case to a hospital social worker if there is one or give all the necessary service herself if there is not.

Death is perhaps an even more common occurrence on trains than is birth. Persons hastening to reach a hospital, to go home to die, to get to the perfect climate where they hope to recover, often do not reach their destination. Dust and dirt and discomfort, desert heat, the high altitude of the Rockies, any one of many things may serve as that strain which the weakened constitution cannot stand. The conductor secures medical aid if it can be secured, but if death occurs the body must be put off the train at the next regular station. Railway officials, coroner, and relatives may do all that is necessary, but sometimes the Travelers Aid worker is asked to give a bit of brief service even if everyone concerned seems competent.

For instance, one day a station master told a worker that he had just received word from a city forty miles away that an incoming train had stopped there to leave the body of a baby who had died on the train, the father of the child was remaining on the train since he was bringing home the body of his young wife who had died in childbirth in a distant city and her body could not continue without him according to rail-

road regulations, and her parents were to meet the train expecting to take the baby to raise. Among all the throngs in the station the worker picked out the capable looking middle aged couple who were speaking of how they had bid goodbye to their daughter just a year ago after her wedding and cheering each other not to grieve about her death since they would soon be seeing her little son. The worker had just time to tell them that in spite of a trained nurse in attendance it had died on the way and its father wished also to die rather than face them with the news, and to help off the train the nearly insane young husband who, on being told that the parents already knew all about it and did not blame him, was able to pull himself together to some extent, but not so much but what the old mother was able to smile at the worker, "You see I still have a baby to take care of after all."

It was a very small service that the worker rendered in this case and still one that has always seemed very great to the persons concerned. If only some worker at the city on the other side of the continent or someone along the way had advised the young father that a new-born child could not safely make that long journey and had helped him to arrange for its care until it was old enough to go to its grandparents, its life might have been spared.

Sometimes a traveler is taken from the train in a dying condition quite unable to give any connected story about himself, but the worker may be able to catch the few words that give a clue through which relatives may be found. One man who knew he could not recover begged the worker to get a refund on the unused portion of his ticket and pay a debt that was on his conscience. In many cases there is a surviving family which must now be referred to some social agency for long time care.

Often a sick or helpless member of the family is brought to a city for medical care and the station worker can direct the newcomers to a reputable clinic or hospital. In places where there are no medical social workers sometimes she must help interpret the medical diagnosis and plan for the future, arranging for medical follow-up in the home community. When the ill are on their way to competent doctors or ask advice about where to go the matter is comparatively simple, but many sick persons are being taken to quacks or healers who advertise certain cures. One self-styled "Cancer specialist" sent printed cards to his prospective patients telling them which street-cars to take to his office from the station and including these words: "Shun Travelers Aid Women---Ask nobody the way. Tell nobody who you are coming to."¹

¹National Travelers Aid Society Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 12, p. 4.

Some of his patients did not have cancer and others were beyond any cure.

A chiropractor who promises, at ten dollars a treatment, to make a microcephalic idiot normal; a numerologist who can convince a woman that the numbers on her forehead are the same as those on his and she must therefore marry him, although she has a husband back home, and she must draw all her money out of the bank and give it to her new husband who is going to cure her nervousness; a raw vegetable food advocate who has convinced a father that his tubercular child must eat no milk or eggs nor any form of animal food; even the vendors of black magic, the voodoo doctors, are responsible for people traveling in search of health and happiness. The worker in the station cannot openly attack these quacks and charlatans, since there is in some cases the danger of a law suit, religious or scientific controversial ground protects others, and a childlike faith is not to be too rudely shattered. The worker can, however, boldly attack those quacks who are outside the law, help persons with grievances to obtain good legal advice, report violations of the law, suggest good clinics to those needing physical care, arrange for follow-up care by another agency or do it herself, and by keeping in touch with those who patronize quacks, secure the information that will lead toward the formulation of proper laws.¹

The mentally ill are frequent travelers and some of the special agents of the railways spend most of their time looking after the psychopathic persons who look well enough to travel when they are allowed to start a journey, but who become boisterous, intensely erotic, suicidal, or violent during a trip. Extreme cases are cared for by the railway officials and the police, but there are many persons who, if Travelers Aid were not there would either get no attention or be sent to jail for disturbing the peace.

A large, unkempt, filthy woman in a ragged bungalow apron wandered into a railway station and began shouting at the newsboys that they must make way for her since she had secured their jobs for them. They in turn yelled at her, denying her assertion, and a crowd gathered. The big station policeman

¹See also A. Irving Hallowell, "Travelers Aid Societies and Health Agencies," Hospital Social Service, Vol. 6 (1917); Margaret Wead, "The Travelers Aid Society - Its Contact with Health Problems," Hospital Social Service, 16 (1927), 132-141; Margaret Wead, "Service to the Sick Transient" (Presented at Annual Meeting of the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, 1930).

and the little, young Travelers Aid worker arrived simultaneously, and at a word from the latter the officer, who had been about to summon the patrol wagon, stepped back. The worker greeted the wild-eyed woman calmly and courteously and suggested that she come to the Travelers Aid office to make her suggestions to the supervisor about how the station should be conducted. Leaving the station uncovered, with no time to phone the office, the little worker and the big woman set out, the latter now laughing and joking in an enormous voice and using obscene terms, but the office was reached without mishap and the worker led her new friend into the office of the supervisor and introduced her formally, by the name she had given, Princess Frigenzi, the wife of the crown prince of Italy. The Princess immediately made herself at home, taking off her shoes and putting her feet on the desk. Any question started a flow of talk. When asked where she lived, she reeled off the name of every first and second class hotel in the city, her friends included every motion picture star and she confided with a chuckle that she was a "damn fool comedian" herself; in her bag which she opened at once were the names and addresses of most of the prominent persons in the city, her talk included advice as to how to take care of a drunken man, the names of some drugs and something about special baths. She was restless and wished to leave and she objected violently to having the worker or supervisor leave the room, so she was told that they knew a man who would like to meet her, and in her presence the detective bureau was phoned on a dial instrument and the officer in charge of psychopathic cases called for by name and asked to come to meet a princess. Shortly the officers in plain clothes appeared, greeted the woman courteously and asked her to go riding with them in their Buick car to which she gladly assented. Thus in a calm and happy frame of mind she entered the observation ward of the psychopathic hospital, instead of being dragged off in a patrol wagon by men in uniform and through a police station and jail on the way, undoubtedly fighting violently all the way, for at the private court hearing in the hospital some days later, when someone asked her if she had said her husband was a king, she became so incensed over this error that three strong men had difficulty in holding her.

The Travelers Aid worker sent a copy of the record to the lunacy commission, with the notation that there seemed in all she had said only two clues as to her identity, a name she said used to be hers and a town in a distant state. It also seemed probable that she had been in an institution before. It was reported that she was committed to a state hospital, with real name and relatives or residence unknown, and Travelers Aid, assuming that the lunacy commission to whom the case had been transferred had followed up these clues and found them false, closed the case.

Three years later the little worker had left the agency, but the same supervisor was startled to observe in the waiting room a Mrs. Murphy, sad looking and weeping softly, dressed in neat and expensive dark clothes, who had been referred to the office by a new station worker in regard to having travel service to an eastern city. It was the Princess. On the phone the lunacy commission reported that after more than a year in a state hospital, their patient had remembered who

she was, her well-to-do parents, distracted over her disappearance during more than a year in the very city she had mentioned, had come for her and she had been discharged as practically recovered. The name she had once given had been her maiden name. If only Travelers Aid had wired to that city where the police had a record of her disappearance, her relatives might have been spared much anxiety. If the lunacy commission had wired or written she might have been returned to the state hospital in the state of her legal residence where she had already been a patient at one time.

But here she was in new trouble. She could tell her story now calmly. Five years earlier she had married the man she loved, but her happiness was brief as he was most unkind to her. They had traveled and she had been ill and she could not remember what had happened until two years ago when she had found herself in her old home and her husband was not there. Her parents had tried to help her forget him, but she had located him in this city and had come to him. He had met her and she had been very happy until the second day when he had told her she must return to her people, as he had secured a divorce from her and must marry the young woman who had been employed as his housekeeper and who was now expecting a child. She tried to remember what the doctors had told her about never getting excited or she might have a relapse. She consulted a lawyer who told her the divorce could be declared illegal since her husband knew where he could reach her but did not serve papers. The worker did not point out that in that particular state it was also illegal to secure a divorce from an insane wife. The husband had refused to see her again. She wished now to do the sane, sensible thing, but all was confusion in her mind. The worker let her talk it all out, every possibility as to action, and it became clear that she really loved this man so much that his happiness was more important to her than her own. She knew that she should never have a child and he liked children and she did not like to think of a child of his being illegitimate. She even sympathized with the other woman. But she was not sure but what her husband had been tricked and that he really cared for her. She must at least see him again. Calmed and reassured, she went to a hotel to spend the night.

The worker checked on the husband's story as to the divorce and the housekeeper and gave him a chance to give his version of the affair. When he married he knew that his wife had had a nervous breakdown previously but, until her second breakdown came, he did not realize that she had been insane. He had known nothing about getting medical care for her, had been terribly ashamed of her queer actions, and knew that he had been unkind to her; but she was so irritating. When she disappeared he was sure she had been picked up by the authorities and when he learned she was in a hospital he was relieved. He had never been in love with her, but had married her because her family was prosperous and could give him a start. He was fond of the other woman and meant to do the right thing if his wife would only go away and give him a chance. So a conference in the office was arranged in which it was apparent that Mr. and Mrs. Murphy were indeed far apart in understanding and that his manner of speaking to her was brutal. As the conference was degenerating into a bitter quarrel and Mrs.

Murphy's mental poise began to melt, the worker interfered before the Princess should return, suggesting that Mr. Murphy pay his wife's transportation home and further decision be left until later. But Mrs. Murphy was herself again and her decision made. She would go home and never return to bother him, but the worker must find a way to make the divorce valid and see that he married the other woman and took care of her and the child. He must be happy and she would face her future alone.

Some weeks later she wrote to thank the worker and say that she was happy in her decision and felt that in living through such an experience without going to pieces she might hope that her cure had been complete and that she might lead a useful life. The letter was addressed not to the worker who had helped her as Mrs. Murphy, but to the little worker who had befriended her as the Princess, although apparently all memory of that first contact with Travelers Aid had been gone from her mind, she had denied ever being in the office before, no one had told her she was already known there, and the little worker's name had been mentioned only casually when she had been the Princess.

It is a not uncommon occurrence for a traveler to confide in a worker that the conductor, the porters, and the other passengers on the train he has just left are all detectives in disguise, or that they are all spies employed by his enemies, or that he has made the journey in response to a command from the voices who control all his actions, or that he is on a mission for the Lord, perhaps one that has to do with putting someone who is wicked out of the way. All of these travelers need the attention of a psychiatrist, and the worker in the station must devise ways of bringing about such an interview. If there are relatives accompanying the traveler or she can communicate with them, she can help them to understand why skilled diagnosis and treatment are necessary, in some cases she must herself file to have a dangerous person put under observation, taking the chance of later being sued by some clever paranoiac who can convince a judge or jury that he is not insane, and in other cases she can induce the traveler himself to consult a psychiatrist. It is clear from these incidents that the worker must have some knowledge of mental disorders.¹

¹See Irving J. Sands, "Manifestations of Mental Disorders in Travelers Aid Society Clients," Mental Hygiene, 11 (1927), 728-744; Lawson Lawry, "Principles of Observation and Approach as Emphasized in Travelers Aid" (Presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, 1926); Harry M. Tiebout, "Psychiatric Problems in the Travelers Aid Field" (Presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, 1930).

Some of the most troublesome runaways, who tell repeated falsehoods, are irritable, impulsive, precocious sexually, and generally unreliable and unamenable to ordinary case work treatment, are found to be cases of post-encephalitis. One young runaway who was found to have an I.Q. of 120 but who was lively, distractable, and flighty, proved to have an endocrinological disorder. Perhaps it will be found in time that many of the problem travelers with odd mental disturbances can be explained by physical reasons and physical treatment may help, but the case worker must see that the needed treatment is given and must attempt social treatment when the doctors only label a condition and leave the patient out in society to get into further troubles. It is, of course, not always easy to arrange for either physical or social care in a country where many people live far from cities and there is no state or nation-wide provision for the care of persons who need help.

Esmerelda was observed in a station, but when a worker started to approach her she uttered a string of oaths and ran out on the tracks. Later she was found cowering under a railway bridge like a cornered animal. Her black bungalow apron was white with dust, her hair matted with dirt, her squat figure and blunt fingers hinted a glandular disturbance. She said that she was married and had been wandering around the country with her husband; and the name she gave was that of a successful actor. She had thought that she would enter the pictures herself, but beyond telling the name of the desert town from which she had come, she could tell nothing more about herself. She was lodged in the detention home where it was found that her I.Q. was 82 and that she was in need of treatment for a gland abnormality. Her father, at the request of the Juvenile Court, sent a policewoman to take her home. The whole town knew the family history. Twenty years earlier a young, slender chap in overalls had arrived there and gone to work for a half demented old man on a ranch. Later the neighbors were horrified to learn that the supposed boy was a girl. She gave birth to two boys before Esmerelda was born. The family had no friends. Esmerelda went as far as the fifth grade in school but she was the laughing stock of the place. The boys became bootleggers. Esmerelda sought happiness through a matrimonial agency and went away with the weak looking young husband who came and took her to the city where he deserted her soon. Although attempts were made, no one was found who was willing to follow up the case or to make friends with the girl. The only doctor in the community knew nothing of anything so new fangled as glands. Esmerelda was just someone to be laughed at and avoided. The Travelers Aid worker had in no way inspired her confidence so there was no chance to do anything to help her through letters. The case was closed. Three years later the police asked the workers to watch the stations for the same girl who was missing again. She had been in jail, she had contracted gonorrhea, her unhappy career was continuing. But Travelers Aid workers have not had a second chance to try to help her.

Like every other social agency, Travelers Aid finds the mentally deficient difficult to help. Relatives, the community, even the Court, often fail to see why a feeble-minded or moron girl who is able to support herself by doing housework part of the time should be in an institution or a colony where she will have constant supervision. The station worker meets these girls when they are about to have illegitimate children, or in the cases perhaps even more dangerous to society, when they for some reason cannot have children, but have contracted a disease and are following the fleet infecting hundreds of the nation's defenders, many of them just country boys far from home. A few months in a maternity hospital, with a baby given out to adoption to some unsuspecting foster parents in the one case, or a few days in a city jail in the other, leaves the problem unsolved, but if the girl is over juvenile court age, if the state institution for the defective is overcrowded or does not admit persons with a venereal disease, if there is a doubt as to legal settlement or as to which court has jurisdiction, the girl may come to the attention of Travelers Aid workers again and again before any permanent disposition can be made of the case.

Those who do not have the minds to look out for themselves include not only the actually psychotic and defective, but the old people who are in their second childhood, the irritable, forgetful, confused old people who get lost or wander away from home because of some supposed slight. About 30,000 old people each year receive attention from Travelers Aid workers. The sweet old woman who ran away when she couldn't get used to having a new woman in the house, referring to her daughter-in-law with whom she had made her home for forty years, was such a case. Another woman who had led an irreproachable life, suddenly shocked her children by eloping with an old man, and had married not only him, but six other old men before steps were taken to have her placed in an institution. The dismay of the middle-aged children of all these old people and their helplessness before such conduct is extreme. Sometimes when the old person insists he is being mistreated, the cruelty of the children is very real, as in the case of one old Armenian woman, whose wealthy sons and daughters sent her back and forth across the country trying to put the burden of support upon each other, each saying, "What is the use of feeding her? She is worth nothing now." In many cases a similar situation is less crudely expressed and old people whom no one wants travel from one irritated daughter-in-law to another, the grandchildren complaining of having cross old granny or untidy old granddad in the home. State pensions for the aged will help many to be independent of unwilling relatives and will prevent much of the unhappy traveling

for a long continued residence in one state is a prerequisite.

GIRLS, Girls, Girls! Wanted. A young lady 18 to 23 to travel with me on advertising campaign, \$25 per week, expenses and commission. Splendid opportunity to see the country and chance for advancement. See Miss Smith, Hotel Green, 6 to 8 this evening. Experience unnecessary.¹

Similar advertisements are used to attract the boys, and young people longing for adventure and for a chance to earn more than they make in factory, or shop, often sign a contract which puts them financially in the power of the man in charge of a magazine subscription crew. Sometimes, indeed, such advertisements are used to lure girls to some old pervert or to a place for prostitution, but in recent years a large share of such notices have had to do with the recruitment of attractive young people to sell magazine subscriptions, the young girls being used to approach men in business offices, and the boys, who have been coached to say that they are working their way through school, being sent to housewives. Sometimes, if there are a number in the crew and they travel from town to town by automobile, there is a "chaperon," but many unhappy experiences have come to young people who have trusted themselves to such protection.

In November, 1929 a questionnaire sent from the National Travelers Aid office to each member agency brought back the information that at that time 112 cases of young people stranded from such crews were known to the workers in 33 cities.² Some of the girls had been insulted by the managers so they felt it necessary to leave the group, giving up their contracts at a loss; others had been left behind in some town without funds when they were ill, others had been left stranded when a car broke down and the manager had departed by train. When the national association gave publicity to the situation, many other young people appeared to tell their troubles with subscription crews. The National Publisher's Association at once expressed a willingness to co-operate, and since the crews were all hired by outside subscription agencies, that association agreed to do business only with those which restricted the employment of young girls and provided a guarantee of return transportation in case the employee could not continue with the crew.

¹National Travelers Aid Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 13-14.

²Ibid., Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 3-5. See also Roscoe Wright, "Subscriptions and Sin," Gargoyle (Houston, Texas weekly), 1930. Many newspapers published editorials on the subject in 1930 at the suggestion of the national staff.

The lure of the stage and of the motion pictures accounts for many runaways, but there are also the many who squander their money trying to enter the acting profession through one of the widely advertised schools or, having won honors in a local beauty contest, only to find themselves stranded there. The Travelers Aid workers through close co-operation with city prosecutors can help to put the promoters of some of the worst schools and contests out of business and can advise the gullible as to the steps necessary even for the gifted to take in the direction of professional competency.

Thus all varieties of problems come to the attention of Travelers Aid workers. What they cannot turn over to others they attempt to solve themselves, and when the community resources are inadequate they stand ready to point out the needs and to work with others in bringing about changes.

CHAPTER VII
SOCIAL CASE WORK METHODS AS DEVELOPED BY
TRAVELERS AID WORKERS

The preceding pages must have made it clear that a station worker meets every problem likely to confront any social worker.

This supplementary travel service by more extended social work treatment is not a new feature of Travelers Aid work. Some cases were, for example, followed up by home visits by the first workers in New York and Boston, because they felt the need to be so great that they were willing to sacrifice their free hours after the dock and station work was done. In 1917 the New York society started a Social Service Department with workers who spent all their time doing case work instead of working in stations. How experienced social workers joined the staffs in various cities and how social work education came to be considered necessary for every Travelers Aid worker has already been narrated. Experiments¹ in registering with the social service exchange certain groups of cases, such as those of defective mentality, of a serious health problem, each runaway or stranded child or young person, each unstable family, proved how valuable this case work aid might be.

Unlike most other case workers, the station worker, if she observes what seems to her a possible need, does not wait to be asked for help, but approaches the traveler and offers help. As the travelers pour up the concourse or past her desk, or as she walks through the station between trains, she is alert to discover difficulties.² The experienced worker does not, of course, approach and question all persons who seem in distress. She realizes that all life pulses through the station, life at its heights and depths, that joyful greetings, tragic partings, and difficult decisions are everyday experiences there, and that most people can manage their own affairs without help. As one writer has said

¹Arthur Dunham, "The Use of the Social Service Exchange by Travelers Aid Society," National Travelers Aid Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 1-4, and Esther M. Boyce, "Value of the Social Service Exchange in Solving the Problem of the Transient," National Travelers Aid Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 1-12.

²Travelers Aid Manual, Chapter VI, pp. 30-32.

of a station worker: "Upon her fine discrimination, her knowledge of people, her discretion, her observation of behavior, her courage in acting when she is convinced of the need of action--upon these hang the happiness of many people."¹

A Travelers Aid worker on her way to station duty noticed a young girl struggling to master the workings of a time table. The worker observed the girl for a few moments and followed her to the ticket office where she asked for a ticket to several places which were beyond her means. The worker offered her services and found that the indefiniteness of the girl's destination was due to a desire to go as far from home as the money would take her from unpleasant home conditions. Because of an accident to a younger brother which she had been powerless to prevent, her family constantly nagged at her and her one thought was to get away from the whole thing, though she had no friends to whom she might go, and no means of caring for herself. The Travelers Aid worker explained the dangers which might lie in wait for her, and was able to effect a better understanding at home, which prevented great unhappiness.

Some cases are simple. A worker catches a glimpse of two boys dodging around the gateways. She is after them in a minute. "John Smith and Tom Smith, brothers, yes ma'am," going to their father in Fresno. John was twelve in May and Tom will be twelve in August. Within an hour the two youngsters whose real names are as different as their ancestries are safely back in the orphans' home where they belong.

A night worker has a large station to cover, is busy with trains arriving and departing, appointments to be met, a person who has lost a ticket, dozens wanting help in finding friends or lodgings, all the routine work, but out of the corner of her eye she observes a girl watching the people coming into the station from the street cars. The hour is getting late, she looks more and more discouraged. Our worker approaches her. Did she expect to go out on a train tonight and was she waiting for someone? "Well, yes--no--sort of; you won't believe it but I was waiting for a guy to come to marry me." After many tears shed in a quiet corner to which the worker leads her, the story is forthcoming. "Well, you know how it is when you go out with a fellow," etc. Sure of understanding, not afraid to tell the truth to a representative of almost her own generation. A ride to the beach, such a good time that it was past the closing hour at the girls' club where she lived when the city was reached again, the boy's suggestion that they go to a hotel and be married in the morning, his morning promise to meet her at the station in the evening instead. "What were you thinking when I came up?" asks our worker. "I had decided to pick up the next man who came along--anyone would say I was a bad woman now anyhow." But she has found a friend who does not tell her she is wicked or lost, but who assures her even such troubles as hers may be ironed out if she does the intelligent thing and lets Travel-

¹"Travelers Aid--Is It 'Different'?" National Travelers Aid Society Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 2-3.

ers Aid help her plan.

A worker in a middle western station approached a frail, shabby woman with four undernourished children. The woman remained silent and stony-eyed to all attempts at friendliness but the four-year-old babbled something about coming off a bus from New York and a six-year-old gave the name of the town in another state which was their destination, and both said Papa was out getting pennies. Then the exceedingly well nourished man appeared and gave his opinion of all social workers with whom he seemed to have a wide acquaintance. He said he had been a minister but no one cared to learn the truth so he had taught the six-year-old twins, who it appeared were not his children, to be acrobats and his ability to foretell the future also was an asset. He admitted that he was penniless at the moment, but refused help even of lodgings or food for the children and their mother, as he knew "the way would open." With the help of wires to New York through which his real name was learned, and contacts with veterans' organizations in several towns, the way indeed did open in a few hours and he was back in the government hospital for the mentally diseased from which he had escaped, and the woman and children were receiving the care and supervision they needed from agencies in their home city that could help the puzzled husband and father to understand the peculiar disappearance of his family.

Jack, with his worn old overalls, his very new suitcase, and his age - only nine - would have aroused anyone's suspicion. His story that he was Jim Fox coming to visit Jack Frost, a horse doctor with thirteen children, who lived in a Southern California town, whose name he had forgotten except that it began with a W or an M, was also too good, but he spent days in the detention home while we sent telegrams up and down the coast before he weakened and gave his real name, the address of his parents in a town two thousand miles away, and told how he stole the money from his uncle to get to beautiful California which he had been hearing about since he was born.

Thus the worker in a railway station makes use of the method of approach, having a new and advantageous angle from which to apply her case work skill, able to intervene in a situation before more serious problems have developed. As some of the German leaders¹ in social work have said:

The moment of intervention is regarded as specially important in reference to the success of the case method. It is expressly for this purpose that welfare agencies are allowed to intervene with preventive measures in order to ward off an imminent state of necessity, and particularly to preserve health and the capacity for work.

¹Mrs. S. Wronsky and Dr. Muthesius, "Methods of Social Case Work in Germany," First International Conference of Social Work, Paris, 1928, II, 258.

A case worker from another field starting in to do Travelers Aid work is impressed perhaps more by the speed with which the work proceeds than by any other characteristic.¹ Those who work where the seven-ten train never waits until seven-eleven; where promptness is an absolute necessity; where clients are walking through a station indicating neither their place of origin nor their destination; where those who have been stopped are housed in some shelter or detention home with rigid rules as to period of residence,- workers facing such problems learn to waste no time. Often the difference between success and failure lies in the time element. It is largely because they have learned to work fast and because they can be sure to receive prompt replies to telegrams and letters from other Travelers Aid workers that the transient and begging families and the gasoline gypsies who have been the despair of workers in other agencies are being turned over to Travelers Aid workers. Experiences in transferring such cases to other specialized agencies have sometimes been disastrous, because in other case work agencies the workers can usually wait to consult a supervisor in a regular conference hour or even wait for a decision by a case committee at its regular meeting before taking action. If they neglect to get necessary information today, they can perhaps get it some other day; and if they blunder, they may be able to make a new start; but, in a station, everything moves swiftly.

A station worker noticed the odd, dazed look of a young girl who carried no baggage but a pasteboard box, who was approaching the gate leading to a train due to leave in twenty minutes. At once she was approached and in answer to inquiry said that she was going to a place two hundred miles away to overtake a moving picture company that had gone there the day before. It took one minute to learn from the railway officials that no such company had gone there yesterday and two minutes more to secure the address from which the girl had come, miles from the station. A visit was out of the question, but the worker kept one eye on the girl while she telephoned

¹Dorothy Burpee, "Reactions of a New Travelers Aid Worker," National Travelers Aid Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 4-5. See also "Backgrounds for Case Work," ibid., Vol. 1, No. 7, pp. 1-2. Under the heading of "Aphorisms of Bill the Baggage man," many characteristics of the work have been pointed out in the Bulletin. For example, in this connection in Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 2, Bill remarked, "Human natur' in trouble's like a house afire. If yer don't get there the first ten minutes, yer ain't apt ter save much 'ceptin the cellar. What I like about Travelers Aid is that the workers seem to spot trouble before it happens."

her always available supervisor, swiftly told her all she knew and went to rejoin the girl and keep her in conversation. In ten minutes her telephone rang and the supervisor reported that she had learned that the girl had been living at the address given with a man to whom she was not married and from whom she had just run away. The supervisor therefore advised that the girl should be held and taken to the detention home. Travelers Aid workers have no police authority to hold anyone but station policemen are glad to co-operate if the worker so requests, and workers have learned that force is seldom or never necessary. In this case the worker simply explained to the girl that her trip was impossible and that she would try to help her out of her troubles whatever they might be, but she wished her to come with her to some place where she could rest. In an unquestioning, dazed fashion, the girl accompanied her to the detention home where she was soon in a heavy slumber which lasted for hours. When she awoke she insisted that she was an orphan without a guardian and that she had just come from the other end of the United States. A petition was filed in Juvenile Court alleging her to be a minor with no parent or guardian exercising proper parental control, while the investigation continued. Visits to the neighborhood revealed that a gang of Italians had been keeping the girl doped while they worked out a plan for her to marry one of their number so that they might obtain a large inheritance which they believed she was soon to receive.

The girl, now out from under the influence of the drug, confessed her true identity and it was found that her parents were in a nearby town and that the police had been searching for her for weeks. Now they could turn their attention to the gang. Meanwhile the usual routine physical and mental examinations in the detention home had shown that she was badly diseased and subnormal mentally. The parents wished her paroled to the Travelers Aid worker when her long time treatment in the detention home hospital made release possible, but as she was now a ward of the court, it was thought better to leave her case in the hands of a probation officer.¹

Closely allied with the necessity for speed and the fact that many clients are not asking for aid, comes skill in interviewing. Emphasis has been recently laid on "case work as individual therapy through treatment relationships," and it has been said that "this lends an increased interest and significance to the most limited contacts, to single interviews and to refer work." While Travelers Aid workers believe that a thorough study of the situation is desirable and often necessary, they have long realized how important is the relationship established between the worker and the client. In 1922, one worker, in describing his manner of dealing with one runaway boy, pointed out this fact.

¹Virginia Robinson, A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1930), pp. 187-188.

The boy's anxiety to tell his troubles and get advice on the most intimate experiences of his life, an account of which he poured out to the worker, offered a challenge which could not well be ignored. Also an opportunity such as this boy had never offered to anyone before. Luther had met the Travelers Aid at a crisis in his life. . . . It is this contact at the crucial moment which offers to the Travelers Aid worker her essential responsibility and her vital opportunity. . . . He was hungry and lonely and discouraged and realized as never before how helpless he was when thrown on his own resources. The stage was all set for a sympathetic listener to hear his own interpretation of his troubles and the moment he shared his confidence with the worker to a degree which he had never done before to any human being, there was a relationship established which was entirely new in his experience.

This short personal contact at the point where the next step must make or break him . . . became such a powerful factor in his life that it not only stimulated him but definitely directed him in his efforts toward developing a more stable personality.

I am aware that this approach gives a much more important place to the interview than we have been accustomed to give. Other agencies with longer contacts may have other opportunities to establish a confidential relationship, but the Travelers Aid worker must accomplish this basis of a permanent service all too frequently in one interview. Possibly because of the pressure of time I suspect that we too often use the interview as a means of getting "clues" to follow up in our subsequent investigation. This habit, if indulged in even subconsciously, will lead to little subterfuges to get "clues" which preclude the possibility of getting the best results from the interview. The important thing is the degree of unconscious freedom and lack of reserve with which the client is led to talk and the degree to which the worker is able to patch together in an objective manner the client's reaction to the situation. Granting this ideal relationship all other sustaining items in the investigation become subordinated.¹

Sometimes the interview involves giving a client insight into how another person may feel about the situation. When eighty-year-old Madame Mimi ran away because her granddaughter had objected to a scolding she had given her for going on long automobile trips with her fiance in the evening unchaperoned, the worker, by leading her to talk of her own youth when she had journeyed all the way to America disguised as a peasant to marry a man to whom her parents objected, finally made her laugh to think that her granddaughter was not nearly so daring as she herself had been, and she returned home more tolerant of youth and romance.

¹A. G. Frazer, "The Story of Luther - Case Work Possibilities in Travelers Aid Service," National Travelers Aid Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 11, pp. 3-8.

Sometimes, in one interview, the client can be made to face reality and to decide where his deepest loyalties really lie. A father sent return transportation and asked that the worker get in touch with his boy who was being held in jail on a minor charge and induce him to return home so that he might continue in college. The boy was sullen and displeased to have anyone interfering in his affairs and thought he should stay by his "pals," the chance acquaintances whom he had met on the road and who had been in jail with him. The worker led him to look ahead at what his future with these companions would probably be, since they were already known to the police and apparently were planning fresh mischief, and what his future would be if he graduated from his university and went on in the profession in which he expressed an interest. He thought it would be "yellow" to desert his companions although he admitted that he could do nothing really to help them and their interests were quite different from his since they had not had the advantage of a good home and of education. He was told that it would take much more courage to return and face his father or his curious classmates than to stay in the city and drift on down into the underworld toward which he admitted that he was headed. He was assured that no one could force him to go home and that he could do as he wished. The worker treasures the letters she received months later from the boy and from his father, when the boy received highest honors in his class.¹

It is as impossible for the case worker, who deals with large numbers, to make a really complete study of every fact relating to each of her clients as it is for a physician in general practice to secure every bit of information about the physical condition of each patient who comes to him. As the wise physician will not prescribe without asking questions that seem to the patient unrelated to the pain and may insist on certain laboratory tests or a visit to a specialist before making diagnosis or prescribing treatment, and, on the other hand, will waste no time on questions if a patient comes with another malady calling on some slight service, knowing, as he does, that certain symptoms indicate an emergency operation, and he must use his judgment to distinguish between great and small ills, between patients needing only a few minutes of time and those possibly needing treatment covering years or months,- so a competent social worker should be able to determine when only social first aid is needed or when

¹See also, Interviews, Interviewers and Interviewing in Social Case Work (New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1931).

delay in performing an emergency operation, socially speaking, such as breaking up a family or sending someone into an institution, may possibly be necessary. A social worker who must deal with many clients has even more need of the light skillful touch of a good diagnostician than the worker in an agency where the load of work is never heavy. It is crippling to give crutches to those who might walk alone and if long-time care and supervision are not necessary they should not be given. If, however, proper first aid is not administered when needed, chronic invalidism may be the result. Many capable people need only a little help or to be put in touch with certain resources and they can then carry out long-time treatment for themselves.

A young wife who has had her first quarrel with her husband may need only a little insight into how he may feel about the situation to return to her home and work out the problem herself.¹ A woman who has run away from a brutal husband after years of suffering at his hands may need only a friend to help her find a position so that she can support herself and prove that she can be independent, and to protect her from interference by the police, which her husband has requested although neither he nor they have any legal authority for interfering with her. Such a woman may decide after some months free from pressure that after all her duty, or her affection, calls her back to her home; but it is her own decision and she knows now that she can control the situation there.

In 1931 an inquiry was addressed to the 133 chartered agencies to ask if as a matter of fact they were doing case work. The executives of only four answered in the negative. Six, however, thought that they should not have to do it, but should be able to concentrate on travel service. When again the inquiry was pursued and they were asked whether or not when there were no agencies in their communities to give relief, to do family case work, to deal with neglected and delinquent children, unmarried mothers, and immigrants (and social workers should face the fact that there are few communities in which there is adequate provision for all these forms of service), they should undertake case work service, all except fourteen of the executives replied in the affirmative. Their arguments were interesting. They were to the effect that the speed with which the needs of travelers must be met is often greater than that which the local agencies can exercise. A good, if short-time, piece of case work is needed in order to

¹See G. E. Kimble, "First Aid for Breaking Homes--A Simple Fracture," Survey, LXIII, 467.

diagnose a case sufficiently to transfer it intelligently to the right agency for further care, and it is a disadvantage to transfer certain cases in which, if a succession of new and different workers and agencies does not have to be faced, the excellent first contact may lead on to the possibility of constructive work. Then, too, many persons, financially independent, in need of social service come to the attention of Travelers Aid workers, who would never ask help of agencies associated in the public mind with relief, delinquency, or insanity. It is true, too, that many problems cannot wait for attention from agencies which are open only during regular office hours. There are also, of course, many communities which are not equipped to give adequate assistance to young people over the juvenile court age, to the pre-psychotic, the pre-dependent, and the pre-delinquent, and if the worker in the station transfers such cases to agencies already overloaded, the clients sent by Travelers Aid workers may be neglected until serious trouble has developed. One executive said,

Short-time case work demands the dexterity and sureness of touch of the surgeon whose patient is under an anaesthetic as contrasted with the technique of the physician treating a patient settled in his home for a long-time illness.

It is, of course, true that not all Travelers Aid workers are equipped to do skilled social work¹ and travel service, advice, and information are all that a large number of the clients receive; but, the social service is a very important part of Travelers Aid work and in the next chapter a few case records show in detail how a Travelers Aid worker may proceed.

¹See Chapter II.

CHAPTER VIII
TRANSPORTATION CONDITIONS IN RELATION
TO TRAVELERS AID WORK

It has been clear from the preceding chapters that to the growth of the railway systems bringing large numbers of persons, and especially young girls, was due the recognition of the need for services such as the Travelers Aid workers are becoming able to give. Of that growth from the small beginnings of 1818 to the vast extension in 1920, when the operated steam railway mileage in the United States was 259,941 miles,¹ and when the number of passengers exceeded a billion and a quarter, it is not necessary to speak at length. The need for travel service was recognized and led to the recognition of the opportunities for rendering other services of a more important kind. However, since 1921 the numbers of persons traveling by the railway have been decreasing, so that while in that year 1,234,862,048 persons were carried on Class I steam railways, in 1930 the number was only 704,053,000.² The figures with reference to the number of passengers carried and those with reference to the number of passenger miles per inhabitant of the United States for selected years have been assembled in Tables X and XI which follow.

This decrease has been steady in every part of the country, but the change has been less in the Great Lakes and central western sections, while it has been greatest in the southwestern district, varying from 16.2 per cent to 69.2 per cent in different parts of the country between 1920 and 1926 as Table XII shows.

There were in fact fewer passengers on steam railroads in 1930 than in 1904 and the electric roads, later to develop, are even more quickly giving way before the new competition, or, like many of the steam roads, are consolidating newer modes of transportation into their own systems. The fact that in spite of the decreasing use of the railroads, travel in general is steadily increasing seems beyond doubt, but no one knows just how much traveling is done by persons in automobiles. The American Automobile

¹Daily News Almanac, 1931, p. 116.

²A Yearbook of Railroad Information, Committee on Public Relations of the Eastern Railroad, New York, 1931, pp. 26-27.

TABLE X

PASSENGERS CARRIED ON CLASS I STEAM RAILWAYS IN THE UNITED STATES EACH YEAR FROM 1920 TO 1930*

Year	Number of Passengers
1920	1,234,862,048
1921	1,035,496,329
1922	967,409,205
1923	986,913,075
1924	932,678,462
1925	888,267,296
1926	862,361,333
1927	829,917,845
1928	790,327,447
1929	780,468,302
1930	704,053,000

* A Yearbook of Railroad Information, Committee
tee on Public Relations of the Eastern Railroads,
New York, 1931, pp. 26-27.

TABLE XI

CHANGES IN STEAM RAILROAD PASSENGER SERVICE IN THE LAST FIFTY YEARS AS SHOWN IN PASSENGER MILES PER INHABITANT IN THE UNITED STATES FOR EACH TENTH YEAR FROM 1880 TO 1920* AND FOR EACH YEAR FROM 1921 TO 1930**

Year	Passenger Miles Per Inhabitant
1880	114
1890	190
1900	211
1910	350
1920	445
1921	345
1922	323
1923	340
1924	314
1925	313
1926	304
1927	285
1928	264
1929	256
1930	218

* Figures from Encyclopedia, 13th edition, p. 936.

** A Yearbook of Railroad Information, Committee
on Public Relations of the Eastern Railroads, New York,
1931, pp. 28-29.

TABLE XII

PASSENGERS ON STEAM RAILWAYS IN THE UNITED STATES
BY REGIONS IN 1920 AND IN 1926*

Region**	1920	1926	Per cent Decrease
United States.....	1,232,846,000	860,343,019	31.3
New England.....	189,345,196	118,691,826	37.4
Great Lakes.....	179,311,769	153,422,088	16.2
Central Eastern...	406,627,713	335,493,756	17.6
Pocahontas.....	19,896,535	12,267,389	38.4
Southern.....	130,932,742	75,806,080	42.3
Northwestern.....	94,883,245	51,004,403	46.0
Central Western...	138,232,521	89,914,574	35.0
Southwestern.....	73,614,566	23,742,903	69.2

* Figures taken from 140 Interstate Commerce Commission, pp. 759-760, and per cent decrease computed.

**Regions as classified in all reports of Interstate Commerce Commission.

Association estimated¹ that in 1928 there were forty-four million motor tourists traveling in eleven million private automobiles but not quite so many in 1929 and in 1930 due to the general depression. While in 1895 only four passenger cars were produced in the United States, in 1929 there were 4,603,610 passenger automobiles sent out from the factories in this country, but this tells only part of the story for in 1930 there were 26,653,450 motor vehicles registered as in use in this country, or one to each 4.5 persons.² In 1930 motor busses are said to have carried over five hundred million passengers.³ The reasons for this are not difficult to discover. Weather conditions interfere less with busses than with railway traffic; long hauls such as that from San Francisco to Portland, 772 miles, and that from Los Angeles to El Paso, 1,404 miles, are used; and the number making the journey in 1926 to California by bus from points as far east as Detroit was over 175,000. Consolidation of short local lines into transcontinental systems has been going on. Thousands of communities are remote from railroads. Six hundred towns in Indiana and 855 towns

¹Figures secured from the Research Division of this Association in Washington in August, 1931.

²United States Department of Commerce Report, July 14, 1930.

³Motor Bus Facts 1931. American Association of Motor Bus Operators, 1931.

in California, for example, were, January 1, 1926, entirely dependent on motor transportation, and within 75 miles of Indianapolis there were at that time 185,000 people who had no direct rail communication with it. The flexibility and comparative cheapness of motor transportation give it great advantages over the railroads. In 1926, while the steam and electric railroads had a potential passenger carrying capacity of 6,600,000, the automobiles, both private and common carriers, had a capacity of 70,390,000.

One of the most important results of highly professional social work is the evidence supplied with reference to the preventive measures indicated by the distress that overtakes the clients whom the social worker attempts to treat. Adequate federal regulation of motor vehicles is one of these important preventive measures.

Regulation of motor traffic seems to be following the slow pace that regulation of railway traffic has set. For the first sixty years of railways in the United States there was no federal regulation and the states tried to manage the situation as best they could within their borders. They were, however, quite helpless about many abuses that were beyond their jurisdiction because interstate matters were involved. Slowly and by piecemeal the first law of 1887¹ has been extended but it is still less complete than some of the state laws. To bring the law up to date the Interstate Commerce Commission has been given jurisdiction over oil pipe lines, over telephones, telegraph, wireless, and radio, but in reading the law one would infer that automobiles had not yet been invented, for nowhere are they mentioned. One might think that it could be taken for granted that regular motor buses are as much common carriers as are railroads, but the courts have ruled otherwise.²

¹24 U. S. Statutes at Large, 379, c. 104. Interstate Commerce Act of February 4, 1887. The act, when first passed was complex and with the many amendments since added it now fills a volume. Much of the act relates to the handling of freight, the filing of financial and statistical reports, etc., but the part in which the Travelers Aid worker is interested has to do with protecting passengers from fraud and overcharging, assuring that precautions be taken to make travel safe and that in case of accident the passenger has some redress, and guaranteeing regular service.

²Interstate Transit Co. v. Derr, 71 Mont. 222 (1924). It is of interest to note that section 400 of the Mann Act (36 U. S. Statutes at Large, 825, c. 395-, Act of June 25, 1910) which pro-

By 1926, however, nearly all the states had provided some sort of regulation of motor busses and trucks operating in and through their territory,¹ but even this control came to an end when the United States Supreme Court ruled that the states could not restrict motor vehicles engaged in interstate commerce unless the regulation was primarily with a view to safety or conservation of highways.² Complaints from many sources immediately began to pour in on the Interstate Commerce Commission and in the summer of 1926 that body made an investigation, with hearings in thirteen cities, collecting 5,000 pages of testimony and examining four hundred witnesses.³ Most of the witnesses who appeared before the commission were railroad or bus executives, shippers of freight, representatives of state regulatory bodies, automobile manufacturers, and civic association members and much of the testimony had to do with statistics and costs and the movement of freight, but that the final report has much to say as to what lack of regulation means to helpless passengers, is due at least in part to the interest and co-operation of Travelers Aid workers and the persons who, as members of Travelers Aid boards and committees, had learned of the hardships undergone by persons who had no redress under the law. Among the 403 exhibits collected by the commission were a group of Travelers Aid case records.

No complaint was made of the regular bus companies which were endeavoring to give as good service as the railways in regard to safety, convenience, reliability, comfort, speed, and permanency, and were finding that all these services paid, and that regulation would help rather than hinder them. The trouble was

vides a large fine for taking a minor across a state line for immoral purposes does not cover the case of a child taken by automobile, be it a private car or a regular bus. Fortunately the words "common carrier" are not mentioned in the earlier sections of the act relating to transporting a woman or girl of any age, so that a penalty of \$5,000 and five years may be exacted, but not the \$10,000 and ten years which may be demanded if someone transported a child by train for an immoral purpose. Sloane v. United States, 287 F. 91 (1923).

¹Busses were under some regulation in 38 states and the District of Columbia in 1926 and in four additional states by 1927 according to 140 Interstate Commerce Commission, pp. 685 ff.

²Buck v. Kuykendall, 267 U. S. 307 and Bush Co. v. Maloy, 267 U. S. 317 (both 1926).

³"Motor Bus and Motor Truck Operation," 140 Interstate Commerce Commission, pp. 685-760.

with the "wild cat" operators. Certain bus companies advertised, in the newspapers and in hotels, cheap fares to distant points. Others used "blind advertisements" saying, for example, that a "private party was leaving for Salt Lake or Kansas City and had room for one or two extra passengers who wished to reduce expenses." The addresses of certain hotels were given in each case and at these hotels prospective travelers who applied would be directed to pleasant gentlemen who told how safe and quick and cheap the journey would be. Payment in advance was asked and a party might set out, often in badly overcrowded, dilapidated, big cars. Arriving at some point in another state, the passengers might be told that they were to spend the night there and that the car would pick them up in the morning. But in the morning there would be no car and they would learn that hours before it had started back in the direction from which it had come. A woman with a baby, a young girl alone, an aged couple perhaps would find themselves stranded in a desert town, practically all their money having been spent for that reduced fare, and in the desert towns there were no social agencies to help them. Some managed to "hitch hike" back to some city where there was a Travelers Aid worker or a representative of some other agency; sometimes a desert rancher or a sheriff would pay the railway fares for the stranded travelers to some city, swearing that he would shoot that driver if he ever came to their town again.

In some instances Travelers Aid workers searched for the men who had sold the tickets, faced them with the facts, and, after a stormy scene, the defrauded passenger might recover a refund. In station work committees, the railway officials showed much interest in such abuses on the part of their competitors and the representatives of legitimate bus lines were even more anxious to secure protective action. A conference was in fact held with the California State Railway Commission, but that authority could not exercise control after a bus crossed the line into another state. The Hotel Men's Associations in some cities co-operated by making sure that none of their members allowed agents of fly-by-night companies to operate in their lobbies; but there are many third class hotels which are not members of these associations. The newspapers could, of course, refuse to print "want-ads" from certain individuals known to be unreliable, but there was no way in which they could investigate regarding every travel offer. In Los Angeles, through the help of the City Prosecutor, a city ordinance was adopted requiring a license and a bond or some assurance of reliability from every seller of tickets for bus trips; and with the City Prosecutor and the Travelers Aid worker co-operating, the men who had made a regular living through this form of dis-

honesty were driven from the city. Immediately, however, they set up a headquarters one block beyond the city limits, and through new advertisements and connections with cheap hotels continued to obtain patronage. To obtain action on the part of the county authorities or to try to enforce such an ordinance, proved impossible.

Unfortunately the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, which might perhaps have been expected to assist in securing this legislation, did not see its way to render active cooperation on the effort, and various local societies therefore, especially those in the West where the problem seemed more acute than in the East, pooled their information so that the Station Supervisor of the Los Angeles society had the opportunity of presenting a report to the commission¹ in which evidence was presented of the inadequacy of local attempts at control.

Obviously this was not a local problem. Other Travelers Aid Societies in the West were facing it too. The Los Angeles workers collected, therefore, all the cases illustrating this evil which they could find containing exact information as to the date, the names of passengers, the persons from whom they had bought tickets, the wording of the agreement as to where they were to be taken, in so far as they remembered these details, and they were sometimes corroborated by a witness or a newspaper advertisement or a letter, the place to which they had been taken, the conditions on the trip, etc., and the social data showing the helplessness of many of these travelers.

The Interstate Commerce Commission from other sources secured evidence of cars breaking down and of passengers being left stranded or having themselves to pay for repairs before the journey could continue, of baggage lost where there was no way of recovering it, of accidents and no one financially responsible, of brokers who owned no cars although, as "auto travel agencies," they collected a commission on every ticket bought. In order to evade state regulation, various bus companies were deliberately choosing routes that crossed state lines. Thus one line in Rhode Island that plied between two local towns made it a point to drive 250 yards into Massachusetts, around a cemetery, and back into Rhode Island to continue on its way.² The Commission found that,

¹A special hearing was held on August 18, 1926.

²In Inter-City Coach Co. v. Atwood, 21 F (2d) 83 (1927) it was, however, decided that no mere fiction of interstate commerce might be availed of so as to deprive a state of its power to enforce sound regulation of the use of its highways in interstate commerce.

on January 1, 1926, of 70,000 motor busses in the United States, over 1,500 were engaged in interstate traffic,¹ and the number was constantly increasing. Nevertheless the Commission thought it probable that for some time to come the steam railroads would remain the backbone of the national transportation system, since for mass transportation and for long distance hauls, especially of freight, they have great importance.

The Commission made twenty-six recommendations indicating that there was a need of a definite co-ordination of all existing transportation agencies on land, water, and air. Regulation should not proceed too quickly and that of motor busses should come before that of motor trucks, since the latter were not so well established and presented more complex questions. It was recommended that the original jurisdiction in cases of dispute should be, as far as possible, in state bodies with the right of appeal to the Interstate Commerce Commission.²

The report was not published until 1928, and although in 1931 both Senate and House bills were considered,³ disagreement over certain provisions regarding trucks, that were included, and questions regarding consolidation of rail and motor companies, prevented the passage of a law. There seemed little question that passenger traffic should be under federal control. A new investigation is, therefore, to be made by the Commission and it is probable that regulation has been only postponed, not abandoned.

In the same years that busses have become important, air travel has also started on a large scale. In 1929, there were as many airplanes in the United States as there were automobiles in 1900, and the changes in store in the next ten or thirty years can no more be foretold than when automobiles were considered an extravagance for the wealthy.

The first Travelers Aid workers learned to use the telegraph even when it was an expensive means of communication, and probably no other social workers now use long distance telephones and airmail or radio messages so frequently and constantly as they do. To them, speed is of great importance for the efficient carrying on of their work. They will need to adapt themselves as rapidly to changes in means of transportation as they have to new modes of communication.

¹140 Interstate Commerce Commission, pp. 685-760..

²Ibid.

³"The Motor Bus Controversy in Congress," Congressional Digest, 10 (March, 1931), 65-88. See also Congressional Record, Vol. 74, No. 58 (February 21, 1931), p. 5735.

The difficulties presented by the conditions of bus travel are obviously very great. By 1929, however, Travelers Aid Societies in eighteen cities were attempting to meet new conditions by having full-time workers in bus terminals;¹ and in most of the other cities some similar service was available, perhaps only the meeting of appointments, a worker from a nearby railway station visiting the terminal at certain hours, signs directing travelers in distress to the Travelers Aid office, or arrangements with bus officials to call Travelers Aid if any special need arose. It is not only the matter of the "wildcat" bus companies. It is true that there are bus companies, and these are steadily growing in importance, that endeavor to surpass the railways in regularity and responsible service, that, on long distance hauls, make authorized stops only at stations, that have intelligent and honest drivers and officials. However, it may be years before the bus industry can develop a group of drivers in whom it can place the confidence that the railway officials place in their conductors.

One of the advantages of traveling by bus, however, is that one may get on or off at some place more convenient than a station, and, although the big lines are, as far as possible, discouraging this practice, when a Travelers Aid worker receives a telegram that a suspected runaway is approaching by bus, she feels much less certain that the child will reach the station than if the traveler were coming by train. While in some cities there are trains arriving all night and Travelers Aid Society must provide workers twenty-four hours in the day, in most cities this is not the case; but in nearly all communities there are busses arriving at all hours. Poor people travel by bus because it is cheaper than train; foreigners other than immigrants who are just arriving, and country people prefer a bus because it seems less formal and confusing, as well as often more convenient; runaways, whether children or adults, hope to escape notice in a bus; all the people that the Travelers Aid worker would like to help are even more likely to be on a bus than on a train now. But where full time service is given in a bus terminal experience has shown that a Travelers Aid worker does not find as many important cases as she would in the same time in a railway station, because those travelers who would present problems have disembarked before the station is reached, or the shifting bus employees have not referred cases as railway men refer them.

As a matter of fact, Travelers Aid workers are reluctant to accept the responsibility in cases where a child or a young

¹Travelers Aid, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 1-6.

person is to make a long journey by bus in the care of Travelers Aid, because the seats are near together, drunken or undesirable men may be crowded in to sleep next a frightened girl, and the driver, who is the only responsible person, must always have his eyes on the road. In some cases, bus officials have co-operated with Travelers Aid workers in persuading parents to pay the higher fare on the railway. In some cases in western cities where court officials have insisted on sending delinquent girls alone by bus, both the Travelers Aid workers and the bus companies have refused to assume responsibility.

Although it means an additional expense to each local agency, Travelers Aid workers should be in every big bus terminal, at least until they have made such a demonstration of the need that all the bus officials will have learned to call on them for help in any case of social difficulty, and will continue to ask their help even if they do not remain in the terminal at all hours. The establishment of union bus terminals and the consolidation of small lines and general regulation will help to stabilize the situation. If Travelers Aid service is to command confidence, it cannot ignore bus travelers. In 1929 there were 12,699 cases in which the place where first contact was made was a bus station. In 1930, the number had increased to 15,549.¹

While work in connection with busses is more difficult than that with railroads, attempts to help the unnumbered thousands that use still other means of transportation are confronted with even greater complications. Much is said now of "tin can tourists" and auto migrants² and many are inclined to think of such informal traveling as something as new as the automobile, but, before 1900, social workers were being troubled by the same kind of travelers, always seeking better conditions and finding worse, constantly on the move, a different group from those who were definitely going somewhere to settle. Of such travelers it was said:

They live in a covered wagon and with a broken down team of horses they travel from town to town and place to place, camping on the roadside, begging bread for the family and corn and fodder for the horses.³

¹Statistical Reports of the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies for 1929 and for 1930.

²See Adeline A. Buffington, "Automobile Migrants," Family, 6 (1925), 149-153 and John J. Hader, "Honk Honk Hobo," Survey, 60 (1928), 453-455.

³F. W. Blackman, "Social Regeneration in Towns and Rural Districts," Twenty-seventh National Conference of Charities and

Now the dilapidated wreck of a car may be bought for much less than a horse and wagon cost in the old days, and while case work agencies suggest that the car be sold or abandoned and try to determine where the family belongs, all too often some well meaning individual gives the few gallons of gasoline that enable the family to go on their way. Social workers in some places, particularly in the West, have attempted through committees of state conferences of social work to have free camping grounds abolished and thus in some measure to diminish the travel of dependent persons.¹ Police and sanitary inspection of camp grounds has helped the situation in some places, but juvenile courts and all agencies interested in children or adults, find many problem cases, besides those relating to economic need, coming to them through auto camps. Social supervision seems imperative, especially in cities like Los Angeles where there are said to be one hundred and fifty camps within the city limits and over one thousand persons usually in one of those camps. Probably such supervision should eventually be supplied through a public authority, but before that is possible a demonstration must be made to show the need. Since all camp families are transients, Travelers Aid might well be the agency that should make a real study of the problem, not as a sociological phenomenon, but as a group of families many of whom are in real difficulty and in need of intelligent assistance to prevent complete disaster.²

Those who have not even a ramshackle car to aid them in their travels, comprise another group of unknown dimensions. Walking until they can pick up a ride, individuals of all ages and also family groups travel all over the country. In previous chapters the problems which some of these "hitch hikers" present have been discussed.³

In spite of all these changes, as far as can be seen ahead now, Travelers Aid workers will be needed in railway stations. While there are large electric interurban stations through which many people who are not mere commuters pass, workers will be needed there. Bus stations require more attention than they have yet received. At seaports and where lake or river travel is heavy

Corrections, 1900, p. 123.

¹See G. E. Kimble, "Transient Families in the United States," Chapter V, for further details of state and regional plans for dealing with transients.

²See Robert Wilson, "Transient Families," Family, 11 (1930), 250-251.

³See Chapters IV, V, and VI.

workers are needed on the docks. Calls for help at airports are already occurring. Not only has the Los Angeles society been called on to meet a number of children traveling alone who arrived at one airport and were to be taken by automobile to another some miles away to continue a journey in another plane, but officials of one of the main airports have begun to make arrangements for a special worker to be on duty in their station, the service to be financed by the company.¹ Jacksonville in 1926 was already making use of airplane service, for instance in helping an unhappy husband overtake and so apologize to his wife who was "going home to mother," and in another case getting a special commercial aviator to rush an official to another city in time to prevent a bank crash.² Undoubtedly air travel will affect the work of Travelers Aid Societies in the future, and as the agency in the community that stands ready to assist all travelers and transients in need, regardless of their mode of transportation, Travelers Aid workers are likely to take advantage of the new opportunities offered. The methods of unifying programs for the care of all transients, discovered and applied in certain cities, will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹Board Minutes of the Los Angeles Travelers Aid Society, 1929.

²Travelers Aid, Vol. 9, No. 4, p. 5.

CHAPTER IX
THE PLACE OF TRANSIENTS IN THE
COMMUNITY PLAN

As in the case of services for other groups, so with the service for transients, the importance of a community plan is being more generally recognized, as the basis for adequate support and continuous development.

In the previous chapters attention has been called to many of the difficulties attendant upon the effort to develop agencies equipped to render this service. Among these is, of course, the lack of adequate and accurate statistics.

No one knows, for example, how many transient families are now wandering about the United States, some of them already habitual wanderers, and others just starting out to seek work elsewhere after it has been found impossible to get work at home. From July 1, 1925 to June 30, 1931, the New York State Department of Social Welfare¹ sent home 9,936 non-resident families or individuals who had become stranded in that state, and although in many cases a relative or friend paid the fare, the state spent \$169,793.74 on transportation in these cases. The Los Angeles County Welfare Department found it necessary to give relief to 4,328 non-resident families in the year ending June 30, 1931,² while private agencies there cared for a smaller number. In the rural state of Arizona³ where there are comparatively few agencies, those agencies reported aiding, in 1930, 2,655 families, including 11,943 persons, who did not belong in Arizona, and in the first half of 1931 they had already aided 2,481 families, including 11,165 persons who were non-resident, while the number of single men transients who required aid was perhaps larger. Reports from other places⁴ have

¹Taken from reports secured in the office of the New York State Department of Social Welfare in August, 1931.

²Report secured from the Los Angeles County Welfare Department in August, 1931.

³According to a special survey made by Mrs. Francis Blair. See G. E. Kimble, "Transient Families in the United States," Chapter VIII.

⁴Ibid., Chapter III.

indicated an increase in the number of stranded transients of from 100 to 200 per cent within the last two years. There seems good reason to believe that the number of transients who need help other than financial is also increasing.

Most of these travelers are not making use of trains. In Arizona,¹ over 90 per cent of the stranded transient families were riding in private automobiles and many of the others were "hitch hiking." In other places, the majority did not use the railroads, although the single men often traveled in freight cars, and in 1931, as in the early nineties, the train crews have been lenient and, as in those other years of depression, in many cases the number of free passengers has been so great that train crews would not dare to interfere with them.

The situation has thus become very difficult; most social agencies are heavily overburdened with the care of residents in trouble, and are not equipped to meet the needs of transients in distress. The numbers of transients, like the number of residents needing care, is increasing so rapidly that some plan for their relief seems essential; and yet the agency which exists to aid travelers and newcomers, is tied by tradition to the railway station and often handicapped by lack of a relief budget. Changes in this situation are in process in cities all over the United States in 1931.

While there are some cities where the figures are lacking and no one knows how many transients are aided nor how the burden is distributed among the social agencies, and where, as yet, no community plan assures the meeting of the need, in about sixty cities it is known² that there is at least some agreement among agencies as to where the responsibility should lie. In a few of these cities, too, there is a community-supported plan for centralizing all the care of transients.

The assignment of this responsibility differs in different places. In some cities this centralized care has been delegated to another agency rather than to the Travelers Aid Society. For example, in Denver, where large numbers of stranded transients are no new phenomenon, for many years the Social Service Bureau has supplied service and relief to this group. In Dayton, although the Travelers Aid Society is represented on the committee on homeless and non-residents which has been active since 1926, and although that agency gives emergency care, transients in need of case work service and relief are transferred to the Transient Ser-

¹Ibid., Chapter VIII.

²Ibid., Chapters VI, VII, VIII, IX.

vice Bureau which is under the Salvation Army but in charge of a social worker. In some cities, among them Philadelphia and Worcester, all cases which may involve giving transportation, if the persons concerned are non-residents, are transferred by agreement to the Travelers Aid Society. In Pittsburgh, after an unhappy experience with one automobile migrant family, it was decided that all such cases should be sent direct to the Travelers Aid Society. In Houston, a committee of the Council of Social Agencies has decided that all transients who have been less than a week in the city are the responsibility of the Travelers Aid Society which gives case work service as needed. Committees on the care of transients under the Councils of Social Agencies in Chattanooga, Des Moines, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, Providence, Richmond, and Seattle, have worked out plans with reference to the care of transients, have defined that term in some workable fashion, and have given, in most cases, a greater share of the work to the Travelers Aid Society, although in some places transient men are cared for by another agency, or the relief burden is distributed while the Travelers Aid workers do the case work for all who have been less than a certain time in the city. In Cleveland, Erie, Long Beach, and Schenectady, agreements among groups of agencies have brought similar results.

In another group of cities, plans have not progressed quite so far. In Cleveland, one group of case work agencies transfers all families who have been less than one month in the city to the Travelers Aid Society. In Salt Lake City a committee on the homeless has decided that all "hitch hikers," single women, boys, girls, and aged or disabled men transients should be transferred to the Travelers Aid Society, while other transient families and able-bodied men are sent to other agencies. In Bridgeport, Detroit, Harrisburg, Lynchburg, Newark, Norfolk, Petersburg, Sacramento, St. Paul, St. Joseph, Missouri, San Diego, Wilkes Barre, Wilmington, North Carolina, and Winston-Salem certain transients, regardless of the method of transportation, are sent, according to informal agreement, to the Travelers Aid Societies for case work service and relief.

In some cities community-wide plans for caring for transients have been found effective. In Wilmington, Delaware, there is no Community Fund or Council of Social Agencies, but there is co-ordination of work for transients resulting from leadership exercised by the Travelers Aid executive. The account of this development would be interesting to any community contemplating a comprehensive program. The centralization of the work has resulted in helpful legislation with reference to asking rides on

highways and other matters connected with the program.¹

In Grand Rapids, community planning for transients was also started in 1926. A committee was then formed in the Welfare Union under the chairmanship of the executive of the Family Service Association, and it was decided that all service and relief for transients should be centralized in the Travelers Aid Society. Unfortunately, however, the railway officials objected to having transients who were not traveling by railroad coming into the station to consult the workers. However, in 1930, a room near the station was turned over to the Travelers Aid Society and the other agencies began to transfer all transients, who had been less than two weeks in the city, including single men, except ex-service men, to the Travelers Aid Society. The committee on transients continues to meet and there are many problems still to be worked out for the burden is proving too heavy for an agency with a small staff and a small budget.²

In Baltimore there formerly was much overlapping among agencies caring for transients, but when the Community Fund was organized, although Catholic and Jewish agencies did not join, those thirty-five agencies which did thus unite to raise money, agreed to recognize the division of responsibility which the Family Welfare Association and the Travelers Aid Society had already decided upon. To the latter organization are sent all families, women, and children who have been less than two weeks in the city, and the Travelers Aid Society gives both case work service and relief. There are special plans in regard to details of care and the committee on the care of the homeless is still active.³

Centralized planning for transients in Charleston was started through the Community Chest in 1928, when a three months'

¹Roberta C. Williams, "Development of a Community Plan for Service to Transients in Wilmington, Delaware, a Non-Chest City." National Association of Travelers Aid Societies (mimeographed) December, 1929, and "Brief Bits" (annual report of the Wilmington society for 1929).

²Information secured from executives of various social agencies in Grand Rapids in August, 1931 and from the minutes of the Committee on Transients of the Welfare Union.

³Information secured from the executives of various agencies in Baltimore in July, 1931, but see also Marie C. Judge, "Care of Transients by the Baltimore Travelers Aid Society," National Association of Travelers Aid Societies (mimeographed) December, 1929, and "Perils of Parking at the Door of the Baltimore Travelers Aid Society," Survey, 65 (1931), 667.

experiment was tried of transferring all families, women, girls, and incapacitated men, whether white or black, and Negro men, who had been less than two weeks in the community, to the Travelers Aid worker for case work care. At first all transient children were sent to various children's agencies, but when the Chest decided that the other transients should in the future continue to be sent to the Travelers Aid Society, it was considered best to include children also. When, in 1930, the Council of Social Agencies was reorganized, it was decided that all transients who had been less than a year in the city should be transferred to the Travelers Aid Society and the Chest provided a special fund for the relief of non-residents.¹

In Los Angeles it was a study of the Jewish Consumptive Relief and Ex-Patients Association located near the city to which patients come from every part of the United States, which led the Family Section of the Council of Social Agencies to believe a study of the care of all non-residents in the city to be needed. Besides the executive of the Travelers Aid Society, who was chairman of the family section of the council, the special committee has representatives from the Family Welfare Association, the Catholic Welfare Bureau, and the County Welfare Department. Inquiries were started in February, 1931 to learn how non-residents were cared for in the city. It was found that, during each of the last ten years, ten per cent of the families aided by the County Welfare Department have been non-residents, and during the last eight years the Travelers Aid Society has cared for large numbers of non-residents who did not need material relief and who therefore could not be sent to the county office. In 1931, special study is being made of the families who refuse to return to their legal residence and all the private agencies which formerly cared for some transients have agreed to transfer all cases which cannot be sent to the County Welfare Department to the Travelers Aid Society.²

In Memphis, Tennessee, in 1927, the Council of Social Agencies decided that transient women, girls, and families, who had been less than a month in the community, should be turned over

¹Helen A. Allen, "Responsibility for Care of Transients in Charleston, South Carolina," National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, April, 1930 (mimeographed), and also information received directly from Miss Allen in the national office in August, 1931.

²Information received from the chairman of the Family Section of the Council and the secretary of that section in September, 1931 in Los Angeles.

to the Travelers Aid Society. A committee is still endeavoring to work out some of the knotty problems involved in providing through other agencies proper shelter, in caring for special cases, and in deciding what should be done with the "share croppers," the poor whites, and the Negroes who feel that they belong where their white employers have moved.¹

Probably the most successful experiment in caring for transients is that in Louisville, Kentucky, which resulted from a study made in January, 1928 under the Family and Child Welfare Council of the Community Chest. In July of that year everyone was asked to send to the Travelers Aid Society all newcomers asking aid if they had been in the city less than a week. Single men, as well as other transients, are cared for by the organization, and the Salvation Army will give neither food nor shelter until a man has been interviewed by a Travelers Aid worker and she has requested that aid. The police bring to the workers many transients in need.²

In Washington, D. C., the most complete study³ of the situation attempted in any city preceded any plan, but in April, 1931 all transients who had been less than three months in the city became the responsibility of the Travelers Aid Society for case work and relief, except that ex-service men and ex-prisoners were sent to special agencies. A case worker was added to the staff to care for families in need, to another worker were assigned the children, and two men case workers were employed to care for the single men. The Community Chest has made possible this expansion of the work. It is too soon to be sure how this experiment will work, but the records in the agency show that some excellent work is being done.⁴

¹Information received from the executives of various agencies in August, 1931 in Memphis.

²Information received from the chairman and members of the committee in Louisville in August, 1931, and see also Annabel Kahn, "The Louisville Experiment in Community Service to Transients," National Association of Travelers Aid Societies (mimeographed) June, 1929, and Annabel Kahn, "After Two Years of Co-ordinated Service to Transients in Louisville," National Association of Travelers Aid Societies (mimeographed) April, 1931.

³Ruth Allison Hudnut, "The Care of Transients in Washington, D. C.," Council of Social Agencies (mimeographed and bound), 1931.

⁴Information secured from executives of agencies and members of committee in July, 1931 in Washington, and see "Experimental Policies - Transient Program," Travelers Aid Society of

Other cities in 1931 are adopting the recommendations sent out from the President's Emergency Committee on Employment in regard to the best method of inaugurating a community plan for service to transients, and are forming a centralized committee, selecting a specialized agency, and applying individualized treatment.

So the workers in agencies which started to protect young girl travelers and then found that persons of all ages and of either sex who traveled by railway might need their help, are facing a widened field where their services are needed. Charity Organization Societies have found it necessary to change their names as conditions have altered their work and it will not be surprising to hear of Travelers Aid Societies possibly becoming Transient Service Bureaus or taking on some name having wider implications.

Washington, D. C. (mimeographed), 1931; Margaret Ford, "New Responsibilities," National Association of Travelers Aid Societies, June, 1931; and "Give-idents," The Community Chest of Washington, D. C., Vol. III, No. 1, April, 1931.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

From the beginning of time there have been men who traveled. The hardy hunted for food far from home, the revengeful pursued their enemies into distant places, the adventurous let their curiosity conquer their fear of the unknown wilderness. Civilization increased with travel, and tribes grew into nations and hamlets into cities. Some left their homes temporarily to engage in commerce, to go on pleasure trips, or to visit religious shrines, while wars, religious persecution, famine, banishment, forced the home-loving to go elsewhere unwillingly and permanently, to found new cities and new nations. However, while there were thus through the ages many who traveled, the vast majority of the people did no traveling at all but lived and died in the same neighborhood where they had been born, for, until a hundred years ago, travel was expensive, slow, difficult, and dangerous.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the life of great numbers of people was changing and the new industrial cities were being crowded by workers who had never seen a city before. The newer and faster ways of communication and transportation soon were changing the world for everyone as the factories alone could not have done. In an incredibly short time networks of railways were stretched across the continents and millions were traveling on them. But within eighty years after the first commercial railroad was built, competing, newer modes of transportation were cutting into the railway business, making it possible for more and more people to travel, ever more quickly and more cheaply. And other forces were at work which made for greater mobility. Such a force was the World War which uprooted many thousands of people who have never since settled back into their little home communities. Such a force is the depression of 1931 which has been responsible for the movement of many families away from their homes where there no longer is employment or other means of subsistence. Good roads and cheap automobiles have played a large part in the increasing mobility.

As long as there has been travel there have been travelers in distress. Hospitality as a religious duty appears early in history and organizations to help poor strangers are no new phenomenon. But it was the railways, which, by bringing large numbers

of young girls alone into the cities where they were exploited, called into being a new group of organizations interested in these travelers who needed protection. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century various agencies under different auspices started similar work and, soon after the new century began, in several cities the first non-sectarian organizations were undertaking the assistance of travelers of any age or either sex who might be in distress.

The social workers in railway stations soon found it necessary to co-operate with similar workers in other cities and by 1917 the National Travelers Aid Society was organized, just in time to be of service during the special needs incident to the war. After the war came the inevitable stock taking, and the realization that social case workers with professional equipment were necessary if the opportunities to be of real service were adequately to be met. A reorganization into a National Association of Travelers Aid Societies was followed in 1921 by a study of the situation throughout the United States which revealed that not only were there a number of large cities with no Travelers Aid service and many smaller places uncovered, but that even in large cities the work was in many instances under other organizations which were primarily interested in activities in no way related to Travelers Aid work, and that a large share of the workers even in independent societies were not social workers, that the national board showed little interest in the situation and the financial support was inadequate to cover the needed expansion of the national staff.

By 1931, much progress has been made in the quality of work done and a growing proportion of the workers now have had some special preparation for social work, but salaries still are lower than in certain other types of social work and there still are some workers with little other equipment than good intentions and a willing spirit. Members of the national staff have been busy improving standards in existing agencies and in reorganizing those societies where the very form must change before further progress could be made, but there have not been enough workers to help extend the service, except through co-operating representatives in towns where there are no Travelers Aid Societies.

A study of the services rendered by the workers through the years indicates that case work assistance to all transients in distress has become far more important than the giving of incidental information or the arranging of travel service, although there is still need of the latter. Special case work skills have been developed in handling transients and social workers in other agencies are beginning to turn over to Travelers Aid workers all

transients who need help, regardless of whether they travel by train or otherwise.

New opportunities are opening up to the Travelers Aid workers due to the ever-increasing mobility of the population and the need of expert care in dealing with transients, but their work is more dependent on the co-operation they can secure from workers in other cities than is true of any other sort of social work, for in practically every case at least two, and usually several, cities are involved. The need, then, is apparent for a strong national organization to weld all the links of the chain of service into one standardized whole and to help forge new links where they are badly needed. The next few years will prove whether the National Association of Travelers Aid Societies can secure the support to enable it to carry the leadership in case work with transients, or whether it will fade out of existence, while the methods and skills which the Travelers Aid workers have evolved through long experience will be absorbed into general social case work practice or be taken over by some other agencies which may arise to care for transients in distress.

